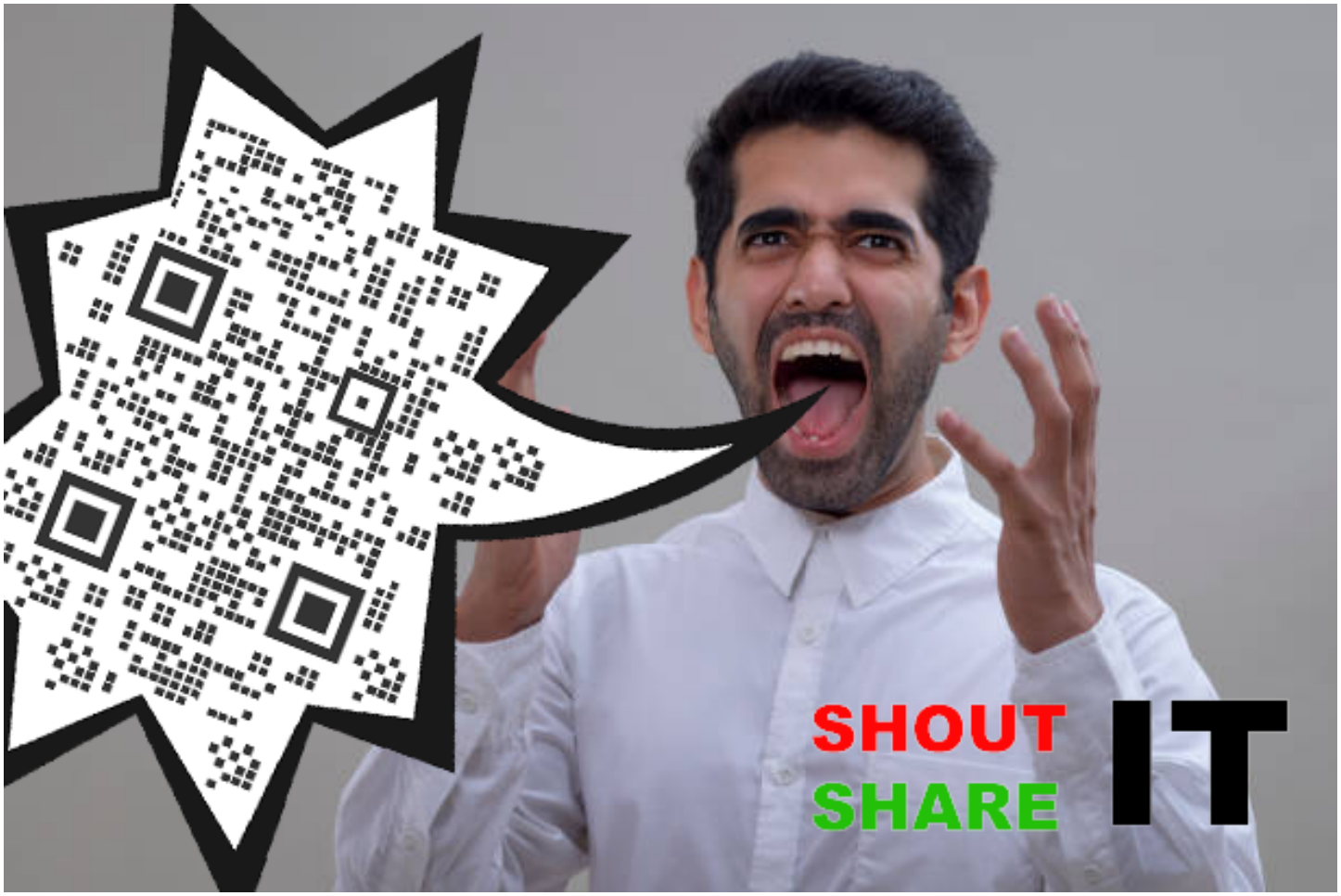
ART OF OSIAN TEMPLES

ASHA KALIA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ART OF OSIAN TEMPLES

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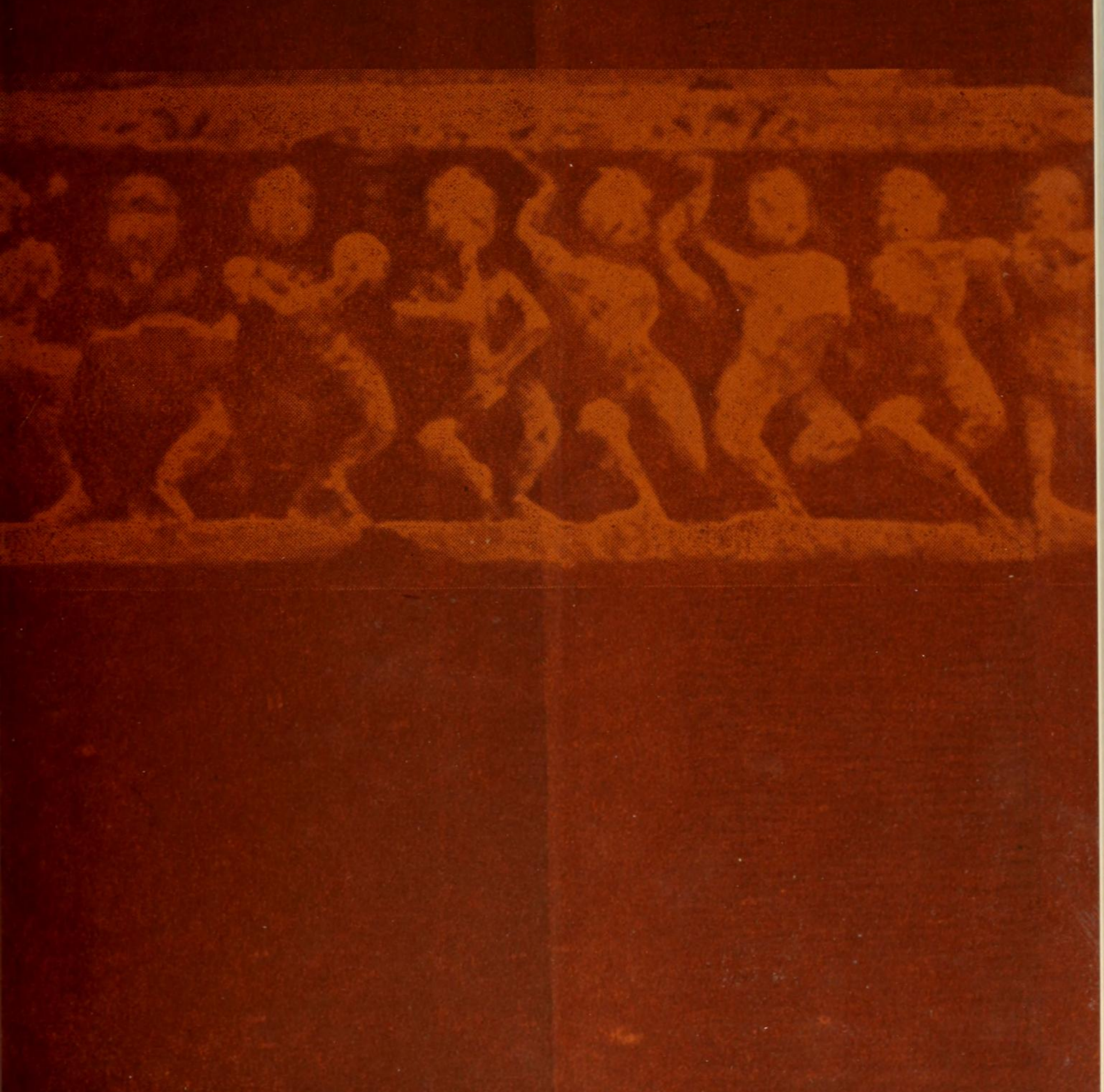
Index Bibliography

This book is a result of several years of intensive research which consisted of several visits to the pleasing hamlet of Osian, the libraries and museums of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and New Delhi. Osian of today is a small town, but in its heyday, it was a bustling city and trade centre of Northern India. Here convoys brought grains and produce, the citizens were contented and happy. To demonstrate their love for God, for what He had given them, they built shrines and temples. The temples of Osian are comparable in beauty to those of Khajuraho and Bhubaneswar.

The temples of Osian, though in a poor state now, have preserved their record well. The temples read like an illustrated book. In this book, an attempt has been made to show what India was like during the reign of Gurjara-Pratiharas. The sculptures of Osian show us what people wore, how they amused themselves, how they worshipped, how they lived, what their social life was like and what they believed in.

This book is presented in sixteen chapters. Each chapter is self-contained and deals with a specific aspect of culture. Chapter One introduces the book, Chapter Two talks about the social life whereas Chapters Three through Six tell us about the dress, weapons, cosmetics, educational systems and how the people passed their leisure-time. Chapter Seven of the book deals with the economic life and Chapter Eight tells about the religious beliefs and method of worship. The major religions, including Hinduism and Jainism, are presented in Chapters Nine through Sixteen.



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ART OF OSIAN TEMPLES

Socio-economic and Religious Life in India, 8th-12th Centuries A.D.

ASHA KALIA

Foreword by
B. N. SHARMA
D.Litt., F.R.A.S.

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To
my husband
Hemi
for his encouragement and assistance

CONTENTS

	Foreword	ix
	Preface	xi
	Acknowledgements	xiii
	List of Abbreviations	xv
	List of Photographs	xvi
I	History and Temples of Osian	1
II	Social Life	12
III	Dress	19
IV	Ornaments	25
V	Coiffure and Cosmetics	33
VI	Amusements and Pastimes	41
VII	Economic Life	51
VIII	Religion	65
IX	Vaiṣṇavism	67
X	Śaivism	91

XI Śāktism 99

XII The Gaṇapatya Cult 111

XIII The Saura Cult 116

XIV Syncretic Images 121

XV Other Adeities 125

XVI Jaina Iconography 145

List of Illustrations 155

Bibliography 173

Index 177

FOREWORD

Osia, the famed small village of temples located at about 34 miles north-west of Jodhpur, the imperial seat of brave Rāthors of Rajasthan, is a place of attraction for tourists and art historians. According to tradition, it was known as Navanerī and Melapur-Paṭṭaṇa in ancient times. In the *Upakeśagachchhapaṭṭāvalī*, the place has been described as Upakeśa, while an inscription of V.S. 1013 (A.D. 953) refers to it as Ukeśa. In some other literary works, Osia has been mentioned as Upakeśa-pura-Paṭṭaṇa and Uvasīsala. Apart from a glorious political history, it was also a place of great artistic and cultural activity during the early mediaeval period. Even now more than a dozen Hindu and Jaina temples embellished with magnificent sculptures dot this once prosperous town, which is mostly inhabited by the Oswāla Jainas. The Jainas of the Śvetāmbara sect regard it as a great *tīrtha* and pious devotees from different parts of the country visit this sacred place for attaining religious merit.

Dr D.R. Bhandarkar was one of the early scholars who brought to light the enduring significance of these great temples and their sculptures in his learned article on 'The Temples of Osia', published in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-1909. These were built during *c.* 8th to 12th century A.D. Though much smaller than the Chandella temples at Khajuraho, these temples are also built on high plinth and are very elegant in their architectural design. The figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the personified river goddesses, standing on their respective vehicles, the crocodile and tortoise, are carved on the doorways. The pillars are beautifully decorated with vase and foliage (*ghaṭa-pallava*) motifs. The elaborately carved door-lintels have entwining cobras held by their tails by the winged Garuḍa in the centre and above this may be seen the planets in a row flanked by the lovers in different amorous poses. The ceilings are admirably decorated with various floral and geometric patterns similar to those in other Pratihāra temples of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

The temples at Osia depict various Hindu gods and goddesses like Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Lakshmī, Mahishāsuramardinī, Chāmuṇḍā, Revanta, and the Dikpālas in their various forms and attitudes, some of which are exceedingly pleasing and iconographically important. Images of Vishṇu in his different incarnations, viz., Varāha, Narasiṁha, Trivikrama, Balarāma, Garuḍarūḍha, Hayagrīva, Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, Yoganārāyaṇa and Śeshaśāyin are also found here. Interestingly, the

uppermost terrace of one of the subsidiary shrines of Harihara temple No. I, which is of Pañchāyatana type, depicts the figure of Buddha in meditation on a lion-throne. This is the only image of the Buddha at Osia, wherein he has been conceived as an *avatāra* of Vishṇu, thus supporting the view of Dr A.K. Coomaraswamy that by the ninth century the Buddha had been absorbed in the Hindu pantheon. Some mediaeval writers like Śrīharsha and Jayadeva have also included Buddha in the list of incarnations of Vishṇu.

Like the Lakshmaṇa temple at Khajuraho, the Osian temples are also famous for the depiction of numerous *Kṛshṇāyaṇa* scenes like the birth of Kṛshṇa, Pūtanāvadha, Śakaṭabhaṅga, Kāliyamardana, Arishṭāsuravadha, Vatsāsuravadha, Kuvalayāpīḍhavadha, Govardhanadhārī, etc. It is generally believed by the scholars that the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes do not exist at Osia, but some of these may be seen in the ceilings of the Sachiyā-Mātā temple at this site.

There are also the images of Śiva, Naṭarāja, Hara-Gaurī, besides some composite sculptures like Arddhanārīśvara, Harihara and Hariharahiraṇyagarbha at Osia. The two images of Gaṇapati-*abhiśeka* are quite important, as such icons are not yet known from other parts of north India. The sculpture of Rāvaṇa lifting Mount Kailāsa is yet another elegant example, though, some good specimens of this have been noticed at Abaneri and the Sāsbahū temple in Nagda in Rajasthan. The rare images of the Devī slipping anklets on her legs for dance, Durgā as Chāmuṇḍā killing the demon, Balarāma riding on Garuḍa, Varuṇa seated on a *haṁsa* instead of his usual vehicle the *makara*, are interesting from the iconographic point of view. Similarly, in an image of Kubera, carrying a citron and a *nakulaka*, a male figure is depicted as his *vāhana* instead of an elephant, as in a contemporary sculpture from Bansi exhibited in the Udaipur Museum. The magnificent sculpture of Tripurāntaka Śiva and several other individual pieces from Osia have been shifted for display in the newly started Archaeological Museum at Mandor.

The Sachiyā-Mātā temple built on a hillock enshrines a black stone image of Mahishāsuramardinī-Durgā. But the original idol was that of Kshemaṅkarī, which is now kept in a niche on the back wall of the temple. A rare image of Śītalā, the goddess of small-pox, riding on a donkey and carrying a winnowing basket, may also be seen in this shrine. The scene of the churning of the ocean, the earliest example of which exists at Udaigiri, near Vidisha, may be seen here. Some other examples of this kind can be viewed on the Kālikā-Mātā temple, Chittorgarh, Ambikā-Mātā temple at Jagat and Kiradu in Rajasthan, and also at Badami,, Pillalamarri and at Ankor Thom, Cambodia.

Besides the images of various Hindu and Jaina divinities, there are numerous sculptures which illustrate secular themes. Like Khajuraho and Bhubaneswar, a variety of hair styles of both male and female figures, different types of ornaments, cosmetics, costumes, conveyances, arms and armours, utensils, musical instruments, furniture, etc. are found represented on the temples at Osia, which shed a flood of light on the socio-cultural life of the people of that region which was famous for its wealth and prosperity far and wide.

The present study by Dr Asha Kalia, which deals with the socio-religious and economic life of the people of Osia during the early mediaeval period, is quite fascinating. She has made an earnest endeavour to discuss almost all the aspects of life as gleaned from the sculptural art of these rich monuments. Several line-drawings and photographs further enhance the value of this book. It was her great good fortune that she successfully completed this work under the able and mature guidance of the late Professor Ram Kumar Dikshit, a scholar of profound learning and wisdom. I am sure that this work of Dr Kalia, a result of her painstaking study for several years, will be welcomed by the scholars interested in the study of religion, art and culture of India, particularly of Rajasthan.

B.N. SHARMA

National Museum
New Delhi
25 December 1980

PREFACE

Osian is a small village in the Jodhpur district of Rajasthan. Formerly, according to local tradition, it had one hundred and eight Jaina temples, but except only one temple, all of them have perished. At present there are, besides the Jaina temple, fifteen Brahmanical temples including three small shrines, which belong to a period between the eighth and the twelfth centuries A.D.

In Northern India, the temples of Osian rank in importance next only to the Khajuraho and Bhubaneswar groups, the two well-known temple cities of mediaeval India. The Khajuraho and Bhubaneswar sculptures have been studied from different angles; but the Osian sculptures have not yet received the attention they deserve, for only general mention has been made by some scholars.

In this book, an attempt has been made to study the sculptures preserved at Osian, particularly in the light they shed on the social, economic and religious life of the people of the period they belong to.

ASHA KALIA

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The author is deeply indebted to late Dr B.N. Sharma, Keeper of the National Museum of India, New Delhi, for several constructive suggestions in the preparation of this monograph.

Finally, the author extends her thanks to her family, in particular to her parents who showed keen interest in the Osian temples and spent many a day at the site participating in the study.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Adhiṣ	Adhiṣṭhāna
Aṅta	Aṅtarāla
Ardhamaṇḍ	Ardhamaṇḍapa
fz	Small frieze on the temple
H.H.T. No. I	Harihara Temple No. I
H.H.T. No. II	Harihara Temple No. II
H.H.T. No. III	Harihara Temple No. III
J.T.	Jaina Temple
L.L.	Lower left
L.R.	Lower right
Maṇḍ	Maṇḍapa
Mahāmaṇḍ	Mahāmaṇḍapa
N.E.	North-east
N.W.	North-west
P.D.T.	Piplā Devī Temple
Ru	Ruined
S.E.	South-east
S.W.	South-west
Sm	Small
S.M.T.	Sachiyā Mātā Temple
U.L.	Upper left
U.R.	Upper right
V.T. No. I	Viṣṇu Temple No. I
V.T. No. II	Viṣṇu Temple No. II
V.T. No. III	Viṣṇu Temple No. III

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Harihara Temple No. I
2. Harihara Temple No. III
3. Jaina Temple
4. Door-Frame, Jaina Temple
5. Toraṇa Pillar, Jaina Temple
6. Sūrya Temple
7. Piplā Devī Temple
8. Viṣṇu Temple No. III
9. Lady playing with a small child, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
10. Sadyasanātā, Harihara Temple No. I
11. Lady putting on vermilion mark, Jaina Temple
12. Lady using collyrium, Jaina Temple
13. Animal-Combat, Jaina Temple
14. Lady playing a ball with a small child, Jaina Temple
15. Ceiling, Music and Dancing scene, Harihara Temple No. III
16. Dancing scene, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
17. Dancing scene, Jaina Temple
18. Dancing scene, Jaina Temple
19. Dancing and War Scenes, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
20. *Pūjā* panel, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
21. Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
22. Viṣṇu (Varāhāvatāra), Sachiyā Mātā Temple
23. Visṇu (Nṛsiṁhāvatāra), Sachiyā Mātā Temple
24. Viṣṇu (Kūrmāvatāra), Sachiyā Mātā Temple
25. Birth Scene of Kṛṣṇa, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
26. Vatsāsura-vadha, Harihara Temple No. III
27. Kāliya-damana, Harihara Temple No. I
28. Kubalayāpīḍa-vadha, Harihara Temple No. III
29. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
30. Balarāma-Revatī, Harihara Temple No. I
31. Balarāma, Sūrya Temple
32. Mukha-liṅga of Śiva, Śiva Temple No. II
33. Nṛtya-mūrti of Śiva, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
34. Āliṅgana-mūrti of Śiva and Pārvatī, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
35. Gaṇeśa, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
36. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, four-handed, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
37. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, twelve-handed, Sūrya Temple
38. Sūrya, Harihara Temple No. III
39. Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
40. Sūrya, Harihara Temple No. I
41. Hari-Hara, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
42. Dhātrī-Sūrya, Sachiyā Mātā Temple
43. Pārśvanātha, Jaina Temple
44. Marriage Scene of Neminātha, Jaina Temple
45. Yakṣiṇī Chakreśvarī, four-handed, standing, Jaina Temple
46. Teacher and Disciples Scene, Jaina Temple

HISTORY AND TEMPLES OF OSIAN

OSIAN is today a small deserted village, thirty-two miles north-north-west of Jodhpur in Rajasthan. It is famous for its cluster of mediaeval Hindu and Jaina temples which were built during the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, 8th to 12th centuries A.D. In the number of temples, Osian ranks next only to Khajuraho and Bhubaneswar.

The existing temples themselves suggest that Osian must have been a very prosperous town in mediaeval times. At the height of its prosperity it had one hundred and eight Jaina temples. The grain market of Osian was the village of Mathāṇiā, sixteen miles to south-south-east; its oilmen's quarter was Tivarī (Teori), thirteen miles south-west, and one of its principal gates was in Ghaṭiyālā, twenty or twenty-eight miles in the same direction. Of all that grandeur only fifteen Hindu temples and one Jaina temple remain in Osian today.

Osian is undoubtedly an old site and in ancient days it was known as Uvasiśāla, Ukeśa and Upkeśapur-paṭṭana, etc. Several ruined temples depict the rise and fall of Osian. About one and a half miles north-west of Osian, there exists a 'tumulus' (mound) with foot-prints carved on the top and containing the relics of an ascetic called Dhuṇḍi Mall. According to one tradition, when the village was re-established by Uppal De or Uppaladeva, it came to be known as Navanerī Nagarī. This tradition is intimately connected with a Jaina pontiff. Ratnaprabha Suri, Dhuṇḍi Mall, is said to have converted by force the local Paramāra ruler, Uppaladeva, to Jainism. Before that Uppaladeva was a worshipper of Goddess Chāmuṇḍā. The village where Uppaladeva took shelter came to be known as Osiā (Osian). Incidentally, *Osiā* is shelter in the Marwari language.

Later on Uppaladeva, who had first constructed the temple of Sachiyā Mātā, became devoted to Jainism and made Osian a stronghold of Jainism. Formerly, Osian was a centre of Brahmanism. It is, however, believed that even before the days of Uppaladeva, a Jaina temple, dedicated to god Mahāvīra, existed in Osian. In its long history, Osian has seen many rulers. Osian had indeed a glorious past and it contributed to enrich Indian culture. Even now, one feels the majesty as one walks through the ruins of what was once a centre of power in Rajasthan.

Rulers of Osian

The first ruler of this dynasty was king Vatsarāja of Pratihāras originated from Lakṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma, whose fame spread far and wide like a white drop of dew. The name of his town was *Ukeśa*, i.e., Osian. It was a flourishing town decorated with temples and inhabited by the people of different castes. This is described in an inscription which was found in the Mahavira temple at Osian which is dated V.S. 1013 (953 A.D.).

The gates of the ancient city of Osian were in Ghaṭiyālā, twenty-eight miles to the south-west at Mātā--Kī-Sāl and Kakkuka Devalan. Stones and inscriptions have been found in Prākrit of king Kakkuka of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty. King Kakkuka was the brother of Nāgabhaṭṭa I, who ruled in the early part of the eighth century. At Bhīnmāl the Gurjara-Pratihāras built their temple to Jagaswami, the sun. Bhīnmāl connected Osian with the fertile fields of Gujarat.

The Ghaṭiyālā inscription mentions the erection of two pillars, one at Mandor and the other at Rohimsāla to commemorate the victory of Kakkuka over the Ābhīras. The inscription says that, after the defeat of the Ābhīras, a local nomad king Kakkuka built a "Hatta" or market with 'variegated' streets and houses and in them he settled Brahmins, merchants and warriors. The three earliest temples, possibly erected by the Ābhīra kings, are those dedicated to Harihara.

After the violent attacks of the Ābhīras, Osian was repeopled by the Bhīnmāl prince, who took shelter under a Gurjara-Pratihāra king, who reigned supreme in Mandor. The Gurjara-Pratihāras were displaced by the Chauhāns. In 1179 A.D. Osian was ruled from Mandor by Kumāra Siṁha, son of Kelhaṇadeva, the Chauhān ruler of Nadol. During the time of Hindu rulers, Osian became a large city as is evident from the existing ruined temples.

The temples of Osian were destroyed by the Muslim invaders in 1195 A.D. In the *Upkeśagachchha-prabandha* it is stated that in 1195 A.D. an army of Turks passed through this town and destroyed it. Apparently, the inscription refers to the invasion of India by Muhammad Ghori during the reign of the Chauhān ruler Prithvīrāja III, who was ruling over Ajmer. The people of the town panicked and deserted it to seek a sanctuary elsewhere. As time went by, the city, which had once flourished, became completely deserted. No king adorned it with monuments or inscriptions and the city fell in ruins.

Temples and Their Age

Now what remains of the past glory is only sixteen temples including one Jaina temple of Mahāvīra and four small shrines. All the temples are located at approximately one mile from the Railway Station, a modern addition to the ancient city. The dilapidated temples may be divided into two groups: Eastern and Western. The easternmost group includes three Harihara temples, two Vaiṣṇava temples, four small shrines, one Śiva temple and a Sachiyā Mātā temple.

The western group belongs to Sūrya temple, Śiva temple, Piplā Devī temple, a Jaina temple and the "so-called" Sūrya Temple No. II. This temple has the image of Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu in the principal niche of the back wall, and another image of Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu on door-lintel of the sanctum. In reality, however, this is a Vaiṣṇava temple. Sūrya does not appear independently anywhere in this temple, though the image of Sūrya is present in the group of nine planets. The inhabitants of Osian, however, call this temple Sūrya Temple No. II.

Chronologically, most of the earlier Osian temples belong to the 8th century A.D., viz., three Harihara, two Viṣṇu (Vaiṣṇava), four small shrines, a Śiva temple, Sachiyā Mātā and Jaina temple, etc. Only the Sūrya and Piplā Devī temples were constructed in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. The inscriptions which shed some light on the chronological order of the temples are described as follows.

An inscription dated *Vikram* year 1013 (956 A.D.) indicates that the Jaina temple was built by the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja.[1] According to the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* of Digambara Jaina Āchārya Jinsen, king Vatsarāja must have flourished in Śakasaṁ 705 (V.S. 840, A.D. 783) and this temple must have been built around this time. An Osian inscription of 953 A.D.[2] mentions the construction of a Jaina temple in the

reign of Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra family.

Inscriptions in the north-east corner of the *garbhagṛha* of the Sachiyā Mātā temple dated Saṁ 1234 Chaitra sudi 10, Gurūvāra which are engraved on a pillar tell us that the images of Chaṇḍikā, Śītalā, Sachchikā, Kṣeṁkarī and Kṣetrapāla were installed on the *janghā* portion of this shrine. They indicate that at the close of the 12th century A.D., many Brāhmaṇa families furnished money for the construction of the various parts of this temple. From these inscriptions it is evident that originally the Sachiyā Mātā temple was erected in the early 8th century A.D., or at the time when the Jaina temple was built. The Sachiyā Mātā temple was reconstructed like Jaina temple in the middle of the 12th century A.D.

Due to the dilapidated state and the effect of the elements, the epigraphic and literary evidence at Osian is somewhat lacking and it is very difficult to accurately determine the age of the various temples. It appears that the Osian complex of temples probably belongs to the 8th or 12th century A.D. The temples of Osian can be broadly categorised into two, namely, *Pañchāyatana* and *Ekāyatana*.

Panchayatana Temples

Harihara Temple No. I (Photograph 1)

This is an early *pañchāyatana* temple and stands majestically on a high platform. It has five shrines. The large and central shrine faces west and the remaining four shrines stand at the four corners of the leading *jagatī*. The *pradakṣiṇāpatha* runs around the main shrine. Unfortunately, the north-west shrine has been completely destroyed. The surviving shrines appear good and are well preserved. The main temple has only a *garbhagṛha* and an *aṅtarāla*. The *garbhagṛha* is square and has four mouldings—floral, snakes entwined, their tails held in the hands of a Garuḍa who is sculptured in the middle of the door lintel. After the snakes, there is a *rūpaṭṭikā* or panel depicting pairs of lovers and a leaf border. The doorway is similar to those on the Gupta temples at Eraṇ, Deogarh and Pathāri. The door-jambs of the subsidiary shrines are also decorated with the same patterns. At the bottom of the doorways stand Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their respective *vāhanas*. The *aṅtarāla* pillars are decorated with bells and vase and foliage designs. This temple might have had a *maṇḍapa* like the other existing bigger temples. Its *adhiṣṭhāna* portion is simple and plain; but the *jaṅghā* portion is decorated with the figures of the Aṣṭa-Dikpālas and Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Harihara and Trivikrama occupy the northern, eastern and southern niches, respectively. At the top of the *jaṅghā*, where the *śikhara* starts, there are running friezes. The friezes are decorated with depiction of different heroic deeds of Kṛṣṇa. The whole of the *śikhara* in its entirety exists and is well preserved, but for the westernmost side which has been destroyed. The *śikhara* is crowned with an *āmalaka*, and over it a discus or a *chakra* is carved in front. It shows that this temple is dedicated to God Viṣṇu. The spire at this temple unlike the old *śikharas* found elsewhere does not have the intervening member, known as *āmalasāri*, in between the *āmalasāra* and the finial. At the time of worship an opening over the porch permits the evening sun to enter and light up the holy image enshrined in the darkness of the *garbhagṛha*.

With this temple there are four small attached shrines. Of these, the north-west shrine is totally gone, but the north-east shrine which faces the west contains three principal niches on the facade. The two principal niches are occupied by standing or *sthānaka* Viṣṇu and *garuḍāsana* Viṣṇu images on the southern and northern walls, while the remaining easternmost niche is filled with two male figures, exactly alike; but it is difficult to identify them. The south-east shrine has also three principal niches on the northern, eastern and southern walls of the *jaṅghā* portion. These are occupied by the figures of Balarāma-Revatī and Revanta. The south-west shrine faces north. It has three principal niches on the eastern, western and southern walls of the *jaṅghā* containing the images of *Siṁhavāhinī* Durgā, Chāmuṇḍā and Pārvatī.

The door-lintel of these shrines has no image in the centre, but their door-jambs and porch pillars are beautifully decorated on a pattern similar to that of the main shrine. There is no image installed in the sanctum of the main shrine or of the subsidiary shrine. There is one image in each shrine probably

Garuḍa, goddess Pṛthvī and a male figure holding a sword in his right hand.

Harihara Temple No. II

The Harihara Temple No. II is dedicated to Harihara. It faces the west and has all the essential portions of a fully developed temple, viz. *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *aṅtarāla* and *garbhagṛha*. The staircase or the *sopānapatha* of this temple ends in the *maṇḍapa*. The *garbhagṛha* of the main temple is in a damaged state. It appears that the door-lintel of this temple had an image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. A decayed figure is seen holding the tails of serpents. Above the door-lintel, there is a row of small niches, the central one being occupied by Viṣṇu. On his right and left are the images of Brahmā and Śiva, respectively. All the deities are seated on their usual *vāhanas* with their consorts seated to their left. The niche on the proper right end is occupied by Gaṇapati, and the one at the left by Kubera, and the recesses between these are filled by standing musicians. The door-jambs are quite similar to those of the Harihara Temple No. I.

The ceilings of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* of this temple are beautifully decorated with the petals of a full-blown lotus, while the *aṅtarāla* ceiling is adorned with entwining snakes. Their tails are held by Garuḍa, who is sculptured in their midst. The *adhiṣṭhāna*, *jaṅghā* and the friezes on the top of the *jaṅghā* are quite similar to those of temple No. I. The *śikhara* is mutilated, and its *āmalaka* and *kalaśa* are gone.

Of the four attached shrines, only the walls of the north-west shrine are preserved. The other three shrines have been destroyed. On the standing shrine, the marriage scene of Śiva and Pārvatī, Naṭarāja and Rāvaṇānugṛha images are beautifully sculptured. Unfortunately, this temple has suffered substantial damage, although the disposition of its different parts and adjuncts shows a remarkable dedication on the part of its builders. It perhaps ranks as one of the most pleasing creations of the builders' art in Rajputana, though mercilessly beaten and destroyed by the elements and time as compared to the other temples.

Jaina Temple (*Photograph 3*)

The Jaina temple is a Śvetāmbara temple and is dedicated to Lord Mahāvīra. It is a large and complete example of the Osian group of temples. The temple is erected on the westernmost side of the village and faces the north and is surrounded by a big enclosing wall which consists of a *garbhagṛha* (sanctum), *guḍamaṇḍapa* (closed hall), *mukhamaṇḍapa* (vestibule) and a *mukhachatuṣki* (porch). An ornamented *toraṇa* or gateway is erected in front of the open porch.

There is an image of Mahāvīra, which is enshrined inside the *garbhagṛha*. Its door frame has three *śākhas* which are embellished with different images. The outer and inner walls of the sanctum and the closed hall are profusely decorated with figures of Aṣṭa-Dikpālas, Yakṣas, Tīrthaṅkaras, Vidyādevīs and other deities. The pyramidal roof of the *guḍamaṇḍapa* is three-tiered containing the figures of Vidyādevīs, gandharvas playing on musical instruments and other images.

There are four subsidiary shrines, two on the eastern side and two on the western side of the sanctum. The eastern pair faces west, and the western pair faces east. These are joined by the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. All these are alike. Their door-lintels and door-jambs are filled with figures of different Vidyādevīs. However, in the eastern pair of the shrines figures of Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha (Photograph 4) are sculptured in the middle of the door-lintel, and in the western pair, a Jaina figure is sculptured in place of the Vidyādevīs sculptured on the other two shrines. The *aṅtarāla* ceilings of all the shrines are decorated with full-blown flowers and their pillars are embellished with *ghaṭapallava* designs. Two *chāmaradhārīs*, one on each side of the pillars, are standing.

On the facade, the *adhiṣṭhāna* friezes of the eastern pair differ from those of the western pair. The northern, eastern and southern walls contain an episode of Neminātha from birth to renunciation and other scenes, such as animal combats, jina-Kalyāṇaka and war scenes, while the western group usually contains the scenes of music and dancing and teachers with disciples and ṛṣis giving discourses. The

adhiṣṭhāna niches of all the shrines are occupied by Jaina Vidyādevīs. The south-east shrine also contains the figures of Herambha and Brahmaśānti Yakṣa on the south wall. The *jaṅghā* portions of the shrines are somewhat similar to one another; but the three principal niches of the north-east shrine contain the images of Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and an unidentified Tīrthaṅkara on the northern, eastern and southern walls. The principal niches of the other shrines are empty. The other figures, like Aṣṭa-Dikpālas, are sculptured in pairs on the four corners of the shrine. The intervening place between the principal niches and the Aṣṭa-Dikpālas is filled with jina figures and apsarās in different modes.

In addition to the four subsidiary shrines, there is one more small shrine to the north-east of the temple. It faces west and consists of a *garbhagṛha, aṅtarāla* and *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The door-lintel and the door-jambs are decorated with the figures of Vidyādevīs, as in the other shrines. The three principal niches on the outer *jaṅghā* are occupied by jina images. The Dikpālas are noticed in pairs on the four corners of the shrine, while the minor niches are filled by apsarās. Vyāla figures are sculptured in the recesses. The eastern part of the *jaṅghā* is much damaged. The ceiling of its *aṅtarāla* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* is decorated with full-blown lotus flowers and the pillars are embellished with *ghaṭapallava* designs. The *śikhara* of the shrine is crowned with an *āmalaka* over which a *kalaśa* is placed.

The *śikhara* of the *garbhagṛha* as well as the subsidiary shrines are crowned with *āmalaka* and *kalaśa*. The *śikhara* above the *mūlaprāsāda* is of Māru Gurjara style and is probably not the original one. It is constituted by *karmas, śṛṅgas* (turrets), *urūśṛṅgas* (leaving half spires) and the central *mūlamañjarī* (main spire). The normally seen *rathikā* (framed panel) in the *bhadra* portion of the *śikhara* is replaced here by a projected *gavākṣa* (balcony) which appears to be a very early one and so far it is the only one known precursor of the feature so commonly seen in fifteenth century western India.

A richly ornamented *toraṇa* or gateway is erected in front of the open porch. Each of its pillars contains twelve seated Tīrthaṅkaras and four standing figures. One of the *toraṇa* pillars contains an inscription dated Saṁ. 1075 Āṣāḍha Sudi 10 Āditya-vāra Svāti Nakṣtre, and mentions that the *toraṇa* was constructed by two builders; unfortunately their names cannot be read. A jina figure with two large peacocks sitting on both sides of it is shown in the centre of the *toraṇa*.

Looking at the *toraṇa* and porch, it is very easy to differentiate between the style of construction of several centuries (Photograph 5). One other closed hall is seen which was erected over the staircase (or *nāḷ*). Unfortunately, the *sopāna-patha* has been buried under sand, but its *nāḷ-maṇḍapa* is still existing in a good state and is a record of development over two periods as can be seen by the changes in style of the building throughout, particularly, the character of the pillars. It is possible to compare the style of the *maṇḍapa* belonging to the original structure with that of the later examples in the second porch. This latter is the apartment or *nāḷ*, or the staircase, leading into the interior of the building. This Jaina temple is in the traditional line of most ancient Jaina temples, enclosed both at the sides and back rows of subsidiary shrines which are not contemporaneous with the temple but belong to the tenth century. They were probably constructed at the time when the *nāḷ-maṇḍapa* was repaired by Jindaka. The spire of the temple has obviously been rebuilt with the fallen pieces. This can also be inferred from the fact that under the *āmalasāra* there is a human face on each of the four sides which is a characteristic of almost all modern temples in Gujarat and Rajputana.

Sachiyā Mātā Temple

This temple is regarded as one of the holy places in the whole of Marwar. Thousands of people come here from various places to pay their homage to goddess Sachiyā. They usually present their offerings after accomplishing the tonsure or marriage ceremony of their children. According to the Jains, the Osvāls do not dare to pass Osian without paying their homage to the goddess for they are extremely afraid of the displeasure of the goddess who might visit them with calamity in her wrath.

This temple is situated on the top of a hill and faces west and consists of a *garbhagṛha* with a *pradakṣiṇāpatha, aṅtarāla, maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The high, shallow roof of the *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* rests on pillars. The pillars are arranged so as to form an octagon and support a shallow

dome. There are sixteen brackets around the dome with as many female dancers. Unfortunately, all of the sculptures are protected by an iron net and therefore it is very difficult to identify them or study them in detail. The exterior of the shrine, its *adhiṣṭhāna* portion, is simple and plain. On the *jaṅghā* there are five niches, two on the northern wall and two on the southern, and the fifth on the eastern wall. The principal niches contain the delineations of goddess Śītalā, Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Chāmuṇḍā on the south-west and north-west corners, respectively, of the shrine.

There are four subsidiary shrines joined by a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. Of these, the south-east shrine, which faces west, is erected parallel to the images of Nṛvarāha, Nṛsiṁha and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. There are two more images of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha and Harihara on the eastern and western walls of the shrine.

On the northernmost side of the temple, there are two other similar subsidiary shrines facing south. The door-lintel of the north-west shrine is somewhat different from the other shrine. In these shrines at the centre of the door-lintel, two men are standing facing each other and holding a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* in their hands. To their right and left a female figurine is shown with a flower garland. Above them is seen a figure of *sthānaka* Viṣṇu. Besides this, the eastern and western corners are also occupied by the figures of the same god. The space between them is filled by the standing Navagrahas.[4] The middle portion of the door-jambs is decorated with the chaturviṁśati-mūrtis of Viṣṇu, but their bottoms are flanked by Gaṅgā and Yamunā. By their sides *śaṅkha* and *chakra-purūṣas* and *chāmaradhārṇīs* are standing. The corners of the door-sill are occupied by Gaṇeśa and Kubera. Each *maṇḍapa* pillar contains the figures of four-handed *dvārapālas*, while the dome-shaped roof is also carved beautifully. On the facade, its *adhiṣṭhāna* friezes on the western, northern and eastern walls are carved with warriors engaged in battle, worshippers, Setu-bandha, Kṛṣṇa-līlā and *Samudra-manthana* scenes, etc. Above these, the *adhiṣṭhāna* niches are filled with the figures of Saptamātrikās. Of these, Kubera, Gaṇeśa, Vaiṣṇavī and Kaumārī are carved on the western wall; Brahmāṇī, an indistinct god most probably Vīrabhadra, and Indrāṇī on the northern wall, while Vārāhī, Māheśvarī, Chāmuṇḍā are carved on the eastern wall. The figures on the western, northern and eastern *jaṅghā* are those of Umā-Maheśvara, Trivikrama, Nṛvarāha, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha and Aṣṭa-Dikpālas. The image of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha is one of the most remarkable ones. Besides the images of various gods, the minor niches contain the figures of apsarās and ascetics which are sculptured in various manners.

The sister shrine, or the north-east shrine which also faces south, differs in some respects. First, in addition to the central figure of Viṣṇu, the eastern and western corners of the door-lintel contain the images of *sthānaka* Brahmā and Śiva. The remaining space facing the three is filled with pairs of Navagrahas including two more figures of the horse-faced Aśvini brothers.[5] Secondly, the door-jambs contain *mithuna* pairs in the middle in place of the *chaturviṁśati-mūrtīs*, but the lower figures and those on the door-sills are the usual ones. Thirdly, the *adhiṣṭhāna* friezes are decorated with *mithuna* figures, in place of the religious ones. The rest of the *maṇḍapa* and the *jaṅghā* figures are sculptured exactly as noticed in the previous case. The roofs of the *garbhagṛha*, *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa*, and also the subsidiary shrines of the temple, are decked with pyramidal *śikharas* as in the Khajuraho temples. There is a combination of turrets in the *śikharas* of this temple. Dr R.C. Majumdar writes, "In the latter series of the temples at Osian one may recognise significant stages in the development of the characteristic type of the Rajput temple. Three temples of this group deserve special mention, namely, the Jaina temple of Mahāvīra and two brahmanical temples dedicated, respectively, to Sachiyā Mātā and Piplā Devī. The *aṅga-śikharas* in these temples, though on a lesser scale than those of the Central Indian temples, are as emphatic in expression, and become characteristic of the developed type of the Rājputānā temple. Though not far removed from the typical Central Indian temples, at least in respect of their fundamental design and composition, the form and disposition of the pillars and of the *toraṇa* in front add distinctive notes that are found only in Rājputānā and Gujarāta."[6] Stella Kramrisch remarks, "This small *prāsāda* is a model of clarity in the disposition and proportion of its architectural theme."[7]

Sūrya Temple (*Photograph 6*)

This temple was constructed a little later than the temples of the Harihara group, and it stands on an elevated platform or a *jagatī* facing the west. It is also *pañchāyatana*, but the subsidiary shrines are no more extant. The passage connecting them has only partially survived. Dr Bhandarkar comments, "These subsidiary shrines were originally connected by a cloister (*sāl*), which served the purpose of a compound wall and contained a row of flat-roofed chambers intended as a resting place for travellers. Only parts of it at the front and back now remain."[8]

It consists of an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *aṅtarāla* and *garbhagṛha*. It has a staircase on the western side. By this staircase one can enter the temple after climbing a series of steps. This staircase is also useful for keeping out cattle. The roof of the *maṇḍapa* rests on fluted pillars which are arranged in four rows. Of these, two rows begin from the bottom of the column, while the other two rows are erected side by side in the *maṇḍapa* and the *mahāmaṇḍapa* so as to form an open passage for visiting devotees. The space between the pillars of the *maṇḍapa* is filled with stone benches.

The door-jambs of the shrine are much mutilated. The figures are not very distinct because of recent plaster coatings. It appears that the door-jamb must have been whitewashed when it was under worship. In spite of this, some remarkable figures can be seen on this very door. On the door-lintel of the shrine, there is a figure of Garuḍa who holds the tails of several serpents with its hands. Above it are nine planets. There is one more row of different divinities placed in separate niches, namely, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Gaṇapati, Brahmā, Kubera, and most probably Śiva. The door-jambs show no peculiarity in the sculpturing of images. Each door-sill is occupied by the figure of a Vidyādhara holding a flower garland in his hands. Near the *aṅtarāla* ceiling, there are two bands of sculptures on the southern, eastern and northern sides depicting Mahiṣāsuramardinī, ascetics, warriors fighting against one another, *mithuna* and various domestic scenes. There are two projecting pilasters on each side of the door-jamb. Their upper parts contain the figures of Saṁkarṣaṇa-Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, while the lower part has two figures of Śālabhañjikās with their one lady attendant.[9] The *jaṅghā* portion of the temple also contains several notable images of gods and goddesses. On the south wall there are the figures of Balarāma, Nirriti, Gaṇeśa and Varāha. On the eastern wall are portrayed Revanta, Sūrya and Brahmā.[10] The niches on the northern wall contain the images of Nṛsiṁha, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu and Varuṇa.

The roof of the cella is surmounted by a *śikhara*. Its *āmalaka* is still preserved, but the *kalaśa* is gone. Percy Brown remarks, "In its architecture and in its art this temple is an illustration of the supreme, almost loving, care bestowed by the craftsmen on their handiwork, each example in the course of its production being evidently regarded as a chef-d'auvre."[11]

He proceeds, "In its proportions and style this building displays no little dignity, while both in the shape of its *śikhara* and in the manner of its pillar ornamentation, it is admirable. As an example of the "order" of this period the pillars of the portico may be referred to, the "vase and foliage" motif forming the capital and the base, together with the band breaking the slender lines of the shaft, are the work of an experienced hand."[12]

Piplā Devī Temple (*Photograph 7*)

This temple faces the north and consists of *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *aṅtarāla* and *garbhagṛha*. The outer pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are plain and contain the figures of Gaṇeśa, Kubera, a dance teacher teaching a girl disciple, and the fourth one is a man punishing another man, while the inner pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are profusely carved with 'vase and foliage' or *ghaṭapallava* designs. Percy Brown observes, "This temple is provided with a large *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, or assembly hall, in which there are as many as thirty pillars, apparently dating from the end of the tenth century . . . These pillars seem to indicate that . . . the flutings of the shaft in the earlier model have been replaced by recessed angles, which are carried through the entire length of the pillar and even into the capital. Instead of each

member of the order being distinct, they merge into one another, the effect becoming confused. A similar treatment of the pillar is noticeable in another temple in this area, the Jageswara at Saladi in Godvad, Jodhpur state . . ."[13]

On the door-lintel of the shrine is a figure of Garuḍa and immediately above it are shown the nine planets standing in a row. One distinctive peculiarity is that Ketu is sculptured above Rāhu. There are three large images inside the sanctum. The central image is of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, who is worshipped by the villagers as Piplā Devī. To her right and left are the figures of Kubera and Gaṇeśa. They do not appear to be original figures but seem installed at a later date. The *adhiṣṭhāna* portion of the temple is quite plain. There are some projecting niches on the facade of the temple, in which the images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī and Gaja-Lakṣmī are sculptured in the principal niches on the eastern and western walls, while the southern principal niche is empty. The other niches are filled with Aṣṭa-Dikpālas. The roof of the hall has been destroyed, and the *śikhara* of the shrine is all but gone.[14]

Ekayatana Temples

Harihara Temple No. III (Photograph 2)

This temple is very close to the Harihara temple No. II, but it differs in certain respects from the other Harihara temples. First, it has a single shrine. facing east and it is not of the Pañchāyatana type. It stands on a plain and simple lofty *jagatī* and has the characteristics of all fully developed Osian temples. It consists of an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *aṅtarāla* and *garbhagṛha*. Its staircase, or *sopānapatha*, leads to the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and ends in the *maṇḍapa*. The outer *adhiṣṭhāna*, the *jaṅghā* and the Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes sculptured in friezes above the *jaṅghā* bear resemblance to those in Harihara temples Nos. I and II. The only difference is that the images carved on the *jaṅghā* of this temple are standing ones. The door-lintel of the temple is embellished with *Garuḍāsana* Viṣṇu and Navagrahas, and the panels of door-jambs contain different scenes, while at the bottom are the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā with one lady attendant and one *dvārapāla* or door-keeper. Each door-sill is occupied by the figure of a Vidyādhara holding a flower garland in his hands. Near the doorway, there are two pillars in the *aṅtarāla*, each containing an image of a lady with one lady attendant; but they have no *vāhana*. The shallow dome-shaped ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* rests on pillars, which are decorated with *kīrttimukhas*, vase and foliage or *ghaṭapallava* and hanging bell designs. The *aṅtarāla* ceiling is also decorated with entwining snakes; but in this temple Garuḍa is missing from the middle, which we notice in other Harihara temples. There are three panels depicting dance scenes on the three sides of the ceiling (Photograph 15). The *garbhagṛha* is crowned by a *śikhara*, but its upper portion is gone. The roofs of the *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* are dome-shaped, on which square stone slabs are laid in the manner of a *harmikā*. An *āmalaka* is placed above it. The beams of the ceiling are like the crescent moon and are reminiscent of wooden architecture. The roof and ceiling are the individual and distinctive characteristics of this temple. A similar type of architecture is not seen in the whole Osian group of temples. Dr Bhandarkar also states, "The most noteworthy feature of the temple is the peculiar dome-shaped roof of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* as the smaller bays in the side aisles are covered with curved slabs laid side by side. The central portion of the ceiling consists of a square slab supported by four long pillars, two of which belong to the porch of the sanctum."[15] There is an open space all round the *garbhagṛha* which we can take as the circumambulatory (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) passage of the temple. Dr R.C. Majumdar states, "In the much damaged temple No. 3 at Osiā (Osian), we have apparently a conception of the rectangular temple with a wagon-vaulted superstructure, as we have in the Vaital deul at Bhubanesvara, the Navadurgā temple at Yogeśvara (Almora district) and the Telikā-mandir at Gwālior."[16]

Viṣṇu Temple No. I

This temple is close to the Harihara temple No. III. It stands on an elevated *jagatī*, faces west and

has a staircase in front of the porch, which does not seem to be an original one. It might have been constructed later on. In plan and elevation, it is a small temple consisting of a *garbhagṛha*, an *aṅtarāla* and an open porch. Its door-lintel is decorated with a figure of Garuḍa, who holds the tails of snakes in its hands; above it are the seven *grahas*; Rāhu and Ketu are missing. The doorways are flanked with the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā standing on their respective vehicles. A male attendant is standing by their side. The *aṅtarāla* ceiling is embellished with the petals of a full-blown lotus. The principal niches on the northern, eastern and southern sides of the *jaṅghā* are occupied by figures of Nṛsiṁha, Viṣṇu and Trivikrama, respectively. On the top of the *jaṅghā*, there are running friezes embellished with Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes, as we have noticed in the three Harihara temples. The *garbhagṛha* is surmounted by a *śikhara* which is still preserved with an *āmalaka* and *kalaśa*.

Viṣṇu Temple No. II

The temple stands on a high *jagatī* and also faces west. "The terrace and the portion above it are decorated with bands of spiral, horse-shoe and triangular designs."[17] This temple might have had five components of a fully developed temple, viz., *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *aṅtarāla* and *garbhagṛha*. Of these only the *garbhagṛha*, *aṅtarāla* and some northern portions of the *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* are still preserved. The rest of the portions are totally gone. Originally this temple does not appear to have been of a *pañchāyatana* type. The door-lintel of the main temple is decorated with the figure of Garuḍa. There are five projecting niches above the figure of Garuḍa. These are occupied by the images of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Kubera. The doorways at the bottom are flanked by Gaṅgā and Yamunā, as seen in the temples described earlier. The principal niches on the outer *jaṅghā* are occupied by the sculptures of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa, while the other niches are occupied by Aṣṭa-Dikpālas. The cella is crowned by a *śikhara* with an *āmalaka*, but it is partially damaged. Its *bījapuraka* is totally gone.

Śiva Temple

This ruined temple stands to the north-west of the Sūrya temple. The lower portion of the *garbhagṛha* and the pillars of the porch are set deep in sand. The *garbhagṛha* and the *aṅtarāla* are still surviving. The door-lintel of the main shrine has only five small projecting niches; of these, the central one contains the figure of seated Śiva. On the right side he is flanked by a seated image of Brahmā and goddess Durgā, while on the left is the delineation of seated Viṣṇu; but the corner niche is much damaged. It might have been occupied by goddess Lakṣmī. The surviving portion of the pillars is decorated with floral or *ghaṭapallava* designs. The ceiling of the *aṅtarāla* and *jaṅghā* portions is quite plain. There are three niches on each side of the *jaṅghā*; but their images have disappeared. The *śikhara* on the west is still surviving, but the western side has vanished. The finial or *kalaśa* also is gone.

Sūrya or Vaiṣṇava Temple No. III (Photograph 8)

This temple faces east as the Harihara temple No. III does and is located to the north-west of the village. The temple stands on a lofty *jagatī* which is richly decorated. This temple consists of *garbhagṛha*, *aṅtarāla*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, etc. There is one *sopānapatha* on the eastern side of the temple by which one can enter the temple after climbing a flight of steps. The *lalāṭabiṁba* of the door-lintel contains an image of Garuḍa, who holds the tails of serpents as usual. Above it are the navagrahas. The side niches are filled with delineations of Gaṇapati and Māheśvarī. At present the sanctum image is missing, but Dr Bhandarkar reported, "Inside the sanctum is Viṣṇu reposing as Śeṣaśāyī-Nārāyaṇa."[18] The *adhiṣṭhāna* portion of this temple is plain and simple like the previous ones, but the principal niches on the *jaṅghā* or the facade include the images of Nṛsiṁha, *garuḍāsana* Viṣṇu and Varāha. These niches are on the southern, western and northern walls, respectively. The rest of the niches contain the figures of

dancing females and four-handed Aṣṭa-Dikpālas, seated on their respective vehicles. The pillars of the *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* are carved with floral designs. The cella of the temple is crowned by a *śikhara*, but its *kalaśa* and *āmalasara* have totally disappeared.

Small Shrines

In addition to the large temples which survived the wrath of the elements, four small shrines situated to the right side of the Osian-Jodhpur Road and on the south-east of Viṣṇu temple No. I have also survived. There is very little difference amongst these shrines.

The first shrine faces north and has only a *garbhagṛha*. The door-lintel, the door-jambs, the *jaṅghā* and the *śikhara* of the shrine are quite plain and simple. This shrine may not be an ancient shrine. It may have been constructed at some later period.

The second shrine differs in some respects from the one described above inasmuch as it faces north and consists of a *maṇḍapa* and a *garbhagṛha*. The upper portion of the *maṇḍapa's* pillars is ornamented, while the lower portion is plain. The door-lintel of the shrine contains an image of Gaṇapati in the centre by which it is clear that it must have been a shrine of Gaṇapati in the past. The *jaṅghā* portion is quite plain, but in the middle, there are three niches on the eastern, southern and northern walls bearing the images of Gaṇeśa, Śiva and Kubera, respectively. The *śikhara* of the cella is decked with an *āmalaka* but the finial has disappeared.[19]

The third shrine has only a sanctum; it might have had a *maṇḍapa*, but it has entirely gone. It has no central image on the door-lintel like the other big temples of Osian. Only the navagrahas are sculptured on it. The figures of goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā are carved at the bottom of the door-jambs. As in the shrines described above, its *jaṅghā* portion is also plain and has only three niches in the centre of the southern, western and northern walls. These niches bear the figures of Kubera, Gaṇeśa and Umā-Maheśa. The rest of the portion is quite plain. The *śikhara* is also seen on the cella with an *āmalaka* and a *kalaśa*.

The last or the fourth shrine of the area faces east. Its door-lintel and door-jambs are gone. The three niches on the *jaṅghā* are similar to the ones mentioned above. On the western side Śiva is standing *sambhaṅga*, while the southern and northern niches are quite small and damaged, and therefore it is not possible to identify them properly.

In addition to the temples and shrines now existing at Osian, two more small temples have also survived. These two are known as temples of Satya-Nārāyaṇa and Śiva.

Satya-Nārāyaṇa Temple

This temple is located near the Sachiyā Mātā temple and is situated to the north-west of it. It stands on a high *jagatī* and consists of an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *aṅtarāla* and *garbhagṛha* with a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. There are only three principal niches which are occupied by the figures of Nṛsiṁha, Varāha and Trivikrama. These are on the northern, eastern and southern walls, respectively. A staircase or *sopānapatha* which leads to the *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *maṇḍapa* is constructed in front of the western side of the temple or in front of the *ardhamaṇḍapa*.

Ruined Śiva Temple

The Śiva temple which is almost in ruins is situated to the north-east of Harihara temple No. II. It stands on an elevated *jagatī* and faces west. It consists of an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *maṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *aṅtarāla* and *garbhagṛha* with a *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. Its staircase is erected on the western side. The *lalāṭabiṁba* of the door contains an image of Garuḍa, who holds the tails of serpents as usual. Immediately above it are the figures of navagrahas seated in separate niches in a row. There are three *mithuna* figures in the middle of the door-jambs, while the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā with two attendants each are sculptured

at the bottom of the door-jambs. The *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* are enclosed within a wall. The space along with the edges is filled with stone benches.

Sculptures of Osian Temples

Beautiful and gorgeous sculptural pieces are present in all of the Osian temples. These are carved on various parts of the temples, viz., *adhiṣṭhāna* friezes, *adhiṣṭhāna* niches, *jaṅghā* and on the friezes' zone just above the *jaṅghā*, where the *śikhara* starts, all around the temple. Besides the facade, these sculptured pieces are shown inside the temples also. The image, which is worshipped, is installed in the main sanctum or *garbhagṛha*.

There are certain sculptural pieces like *kīrttimukhas*, *gandharvas* engraved on the pillars inside the temples. Door-jambs and door-lintels are also decorated with various types of images. In certain temples we notice images in niches carved near the spires also.

Most of these images are the images of gods and goddesses, or of the *dvārapālas*, *vidyādharas*, *nāgas* and *nāgiṇīs*, tīrthaṅkaras, *vidyādevīs*, *yakṣas*, *yakṣiṇīs*, *apsarās*, etc. But there are certain sculptures which may be described as secular. Besides them, animal figures and legendary figures like *kīrttimukhas* are also sculptured.

The sculpture of Osian temples is varied and copious, but not as abundant as that of Khajuraho perhaps because the temples are in a much poorer state of preservation than those of Khajuraho. Yet it furnishes abundant material for the study of iconography of the time-rich heritage of the past and throws light on the contemporary social and economic life of Osian and the region as a whole.

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2. University of Rajasthan Studies, Arts (1962-1963), Vol. VIII, p. 102.
3. संवत 1234 चैत्र सुदि 10 गुरौ घोर वडाशुं गोत्रे साधु वहुदा सुत साधु जाल्हण तस्य भार्या सूहंव तयोः सुतेन साधु माल्हा दोहित्रेन साधु गयपालेन—सीच्चकौ देवि प्रासाद कर्मणि चंडिका शीतला श्री सच्चिका देवि क्षेमकरी श्री क्षेत्रपाल प्रतिमाभिः सीहतं जघां घरं आत्म श्रेयार्थ कारितां । *NJI*, No. 805.
4. For details, vide Chap. XV.
5. This figure has been identified by Dr D.R. Bhandarkar as the Hayagrivatāra of Viṣṇu. Op. cit., pp. 111, 114.
6. Op. cit., p. 579.
7. *The Hindu Temple*, p. 404, Pl. LXXI.
8. Bhandarkar, D.R., op. cit., p. 105.
9. Dr Bhandarkar has identified them as dancing females, op. cit., p. 106.
10. Jayakar, Pupul, op. cit., p. 59.
11. Op. cit., p. 139.
12. Op. cit., p. 139.
13. Op. cit., p. 140, see also Jain, K.C., *JUPHS*, Vol. VIII (1960 New Series), p. 30.
14. Bhandarkar, D.R., op. cit., p. 108.
15. *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 104. See also Jayakar, Pupul: *Marg*, Vol. 12, p. 58.
16. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 578.
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18. Bhandarkar, D.R., op. cit., p. 107.
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2

SOCIAL LIFE

OSIAN sculptures furnish very substantial and valuable information regarding the social and religious beliefs of the people. It appears that the people in Osian conformed to the social structure of ancient India.

In ancient India, social life was governed by the principles of *varṇāśrama-dharma*. Society was traditionally divided into four *varṇas*, viz., *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra*. In addition to them, there was also the *pañcham varṇa* consisting of the downtrodden untouchables, who performed menial duties. It is generally believed that in Vedic times occupation was the basis of *varṇa*-division; but in the course of time the *varṇas* became hereditary and further degenerated into castes, and our literature mentions a number of *jātīs* and *up-jātīs*. The *smṛtīs* have assigned specific duties to different *varṇas*. However, during the period when the Osian temples were built, the assignment of duties was not strictly adhered to. Contemporary literature and inscriptions show the *Brāhmaṇas* performing the duties assigned to the *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas*. Members of the other castes also did likewise. Unfortunately, it is not possible to distinguish people and different *varṇas*, *jātīs* and *up-jātīs* in our sculptures. We can only presume that the teachers represented in them may have been *Brāhmaṇas*; the king and the soldiers *kṣatriyas*, and servants and attendants *Śūdras*.

Like the four divisions of society, the life of the individual was traditionally divided into four *āśramas*, i.e., four stages of life. The first *āśrama* (*Brahmacharyāśrama*) was devoted to study and learning. The second or *Gṛhasthāśrama* was meant for domestic life; in the third and fourth *āśramas*, *Vānaprastha* and *Sanyāsa*, the individual renounced the world and dedicated himself to the pursuit of *dharma* leading to *mokṣa*. The division of life in these stages led to acquisition of the four *pūrūṣārathas—dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*, as well as the discharge of three debts under which a Hindu was born, namely, *ṛṣi-ṛṇa*, *pitra-ṛṇa* and *deva-ṛṇa*.

Brahmacharyasrama

We can get a glimpse of the *Brahmacharyāśrama* in some of our sculptures. This *āśrama* which began with the *upnayana-saṁskāra* and ended with *smāvartana-saṁskāra* was exclusively reserved for the acquisition of knowledge. The young pupils resorted to *Gurukulas* where they lived and studied under the loving care of the Guru.

The traditional dress and equipment of a *Brahmachārī* student can be noticed at Osian in the image of Vāmana already described. Other scenes, however, indicate that this dress and equipment had lost popularity, and teachers used to teach their disciples wearing their everyday garb.

Grhasthasrama

After completing his education, an individual generally entered *Gṛhasthāśrama.* The householder-state was devoted to the cultivation of *dharma,* acquisition of wealth (*artha*), enjoyment of domestic felicity (*kāma*) and renunciation (*mokṣa*). A man had to perform several important *saṁskāras* during this stage. The most important *saṁskāra* being that of marriage (*vivāha*). It was only after marriage that men and women entered domestic life. The rituals of *vivāha-saṁskāra* are noticed in the Kalyāṇa-sundara-mūrti of Śiva, depicting his marriage with Pārvatī. The marriage ceremony is discussed in the chapter on iconography. We have also a representation of the marriage procession of Neminātha. He was proceeding for his marriage on a chariot. On the way he saw a pack of animals. Learning that they were being driven for slaughter on the occasion of his marriage feast, he felt remorse and renounced the world (Photograph 44).[1] Unfortunately, our sculptures do not portray any scene showing the marriage of the common people.

Marriage led to procreation of children and their upbringing. Here again our information is confined to divine beings. We have a beautiful scene portraying the birth of Kṛṣṇa. He was born to Devakī, wife of Vasudeva, while they were lodged in the prison-house of Kaṁsa. The scene depicts the mother and the new-born baby lying on a bed, and looking at each other. The baby has placed one of its hands on its mother's breast (Photograph 25).[2] A similar scene is noticed in the Jaina temple, where the birth of Neminātha has been shown.[3] Various scenes portraying the early life of Kṛṣṇa show, besides childish pranks, how children were brought up and educated.[4]

The upbringing of children was primarily a duty reserved for the mother. There are several scenes at Osian in which the mother is shown fondling, feeding or playing with the child.

In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, a lady seated cross-legged has a child in her lap. Its head is resting on her left palm. Her right hand is placed on the body of the child. From the posture of the baby, it appears that the child is being breast-fed.[5]

In another sculpture in the same temple, the mother is seen holding a bunch of fruit looking like grapes. She is playing with a child, who is standing below on her right side. A female attendant is seated on the left side with folded hands.[6]

A third sculpture from the same temple shows the mother standing with the child in her left arm. Her right arm is somewhat upraised as if she is pointing out something to the child.[7] A somewhat similar depiction is noticed in the Jaina temple also.[8]

A sculpture in the Jaina temple portrays a mother standing and holding a water vessel in her right hand and supporting her child with the left arm. The child is trying to feed from the mother's left breast, as both its hands are placed on it.[9]

Elsewere the mother is supporting a baby with her right arm and is holding a bunch of fruit in her left hand while attentively looking at it.[10]

At another place the mother is supporting with her arms a child, who appears to be sleeping and the mother is looking at it. An attendant is standing on either side of the lady. The attendant, who is standing on her left side, has stretched his arms towards the lady as if he is requesting her to give the child to him.

In another scene we notice the mother and child playing with each other. The right leg of the mother is bent and the foot rests on the head of a female attendant, who is standing below. The right leg is kept straight on the ground. Down below, a small baby, standing and clinging to the same leg, appears to be trying to climb up. From the posture of the mother it seems that she is directing it to get down from her right arm which is raised. The mother is looking attentively at the child (Photograph 9).[12]

There is a scene in the Sachiyā Mātā temple in which the mother is standing and supporting with her left arm a child who is seated on her loins. She is looking attentively at it and probably putting on collyrium in its eyes with her right hand. An attendant is standing down below with an indistinct small pot[13] holding it towards the woman.

Besides bringing up children, the women had also certain obligations towards their husbands. The relationship between husband and wife was generally cordial and affectionate. There are certain scenes in the Osian sculptures which reflect the loving relations between married couples. A frieze in the Sūrya temple shows a man and a woman standing in front of each other.[14]

Another scene from the same temple shows a standing couple embracing each other.[15,16] A somewhat similar scene is portrayed on one of the door-jambs of the same temple. A couple is standing in front of each other.[17] Such scenes may also suggest that women in those days enjoyed considerable freedom. Their pose portrays their amorous intentions. Other scenes probably show a housewife ministering to her male relations. A sculpture shows a woman taking out water from a jar probably to be poured into the pot held by the man standing behind her.[18] Elsewhere a woman is standing on a pedestal. She has bent towards the right side and carries a spouted vessel in her hands. Two male figures, one on either side of the lady, are standing. The man, who is standing on her right side and has spread his palms, appears to be drinking water from the same jar. The other man who is standing on her left side seems to be waiting for a drink as both his palms are seen cupped.[19] One other scene shows the woman offering a pot to a man standing in front of her.[20] A scene in the same temple portrays a man sitting on a pedestal with his legs resting on the same. His left hand rests on his left leg and his right hand is on his forehead. He seems to be angry and worried. A lady is standing behind him with her hands in *añjali-mudrā*, as if she is making a request to the angry man.[21]

The economic pursuits engaged in by the people living in *Gṛhasthāśrama* have been described in Chapter VII.

Vanaprasthasrama and Sanyasasrama

Probably it was not compulsory for people to renounce worldly life and enter *vānaprasthāśrama* and *sanyāsāśrama* during the period of studies; but several sculptures at Osian represent ascetics and their activities. They show the ascetics performing religious practices and giving lessons to disciples. They also give an indication of the respect in which the ascetics were held by the common people. Some of these sculptures are noticed hereafter.

A sculpture in the Jaina temple depicts an ascetic sitting on a low seat with a *yogapaṭṭa* tied round his legs. His left hand is placed on the left knee and his right hand is shown in an upward position.[22]

In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, a *ṛṣi* is seated cross-legged on a chair and a man is bowing down to him who appears to be blessing him with his upraised right hand. Another man is standing behind the former, as if he is waiting to pay his respects to the *ṛṣi* (Photograph 20).[23] At another place in the same shrine, a *ṛṣi* is seated on a low seat. His right arm is mutilated and the left is upraised; he appears to be blessing the man who is standing in front of him (Photograph 16).[24]

A sculpture shows an ascetic holding a *yajña-pātra* and a staff in his hands. Down below a worshipper is seated cross-legged with his hands in the *añjali-mudrā*, as if he is paying respects to the ascetic.[25]

There are several other scenes which throw welcome light on ascetics and their pursuits. Some of them are noted below.

An ascetic is standing, his right hand holds a staff and the left is hidden from view.[26] Another scene

shows an ascetic standing with an *akṣamālā* in the right hand and an indistinct object in the left.[27] A sculpture in the same temple depicts an ascetic holding a *yajña-pātra* in his right hand, while his left is in the *varada-mudrā*.[28] Some of the ascetics are shown standing; sometimes they have in their hands what look like a book and a pen,[29] sometimes they are telling the beads, or hold a Śiva-liṅga in their right hand. In one case we notice a bag hanging down from the wrist. In another case we notice an ascetic with a basket in one hand and a bunch of flowers in the other.

The ascetics are noticed either sitting usually on a low seat, or standing *sambhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga*. The dress and equipment of the ascetics have been described in Chapter III.

Position of Women

Osian sculptures shed welcome light on the position of women in that age. In the Vedic age Indian women enjoyed considerable freedom of movement; but in subsequent ages they suffered gradual decline in their status. Manu[30] tells us—

यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवता:।
यत्रैतास्तु न पूज्यन्ते सर्वास्तत्रफला: क्रिया: ॥

but simultaneously he restricts their freedom. According to him, they should live under the control of their fathers during childhood, of their husbands during youth, and their sons during old age. The *Narada Smṛti*[31] also supports Manu in this respect—

पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने।
पुत्रास्तु स्थविरे भावे न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति ॥

Their proprietary rights were considerably reduced. Seclusion was in force and their activities were confined within the four walls of the house. These injunctions of the *smṛtikāras* continued to be followed during the period represented by our sculptures. We have already referred to the primary duty of women, namely, the upbringing of their children and maintaining cordial relations with their husbands. They had also to perform various domestic duties, some of which are reflected in our sculptures. We notice only a few scenes in which ladies are seen busy in doing their respective works. In one of the Kṛṣṇa-Līlā panels, Yaśodā is depicted as churning butter in an earthen pot. Child Kṛṣṇa is standing and is represented as taking out butter from the same pot (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1).[32] Another scene shows a lady taking out water from a jar probably to be poured into the jar held by the man standing behind her.[33] But there is no scene like those in the Sanchi sculptures in which women are shown engaged in doing their daily chores. We notice on the left pillar (inner face) of the eastern gate of Sanchi women engaged in grinding spices on a "cari stone", pounding rice with a pestle and mortar, winnowing grain with a fan, rolling *chapattis* on a table, or fetching water in their jars from the river.[34] Likewise a Bharhut panel shows a woman seated on the ground beside a large vessel which is placed on an earthen oven (*chūlā*). Evidently, she is engaged in cooking.[35]

Our sculptures also depict female servants engaged in different occupations; for instance, a sculpture in the Jaina temple portrays a lady lying on the couch with a small baby. Three maid-servants are standing in front. One of them is holding a *chaurī*, which she is waving over the lady; the second one is massaging her feet; while the third one is standing with her hands in the *añjali-mudrā* probably for her orders.[36] Another scene shows a female servant holding a jewellery-box in her hands.[37]

Women were employed to look after children. The ladies of the upper class usually appointed maid-servants for the care of their children and other household duties. In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, a lady is standing, holding a small baby in her arms, who appears to be sleeping. An attendant is standing down below. Her hands are stretched towards the mistress, probably to receive the child.[38] Similar scenes are noticed in the Jaina temple also.[39] The maid-servants also help their mistresses at toilet. In the Jaina

temple a lady is applying collyrium to her eyes. Two female attendants, one on each side, are standing (Photograph 12).[40] Besides the common class of people, we also notice them in the delineations of divine beings as *chāmardhāriṇīs* and *padmadhāriṇīs*.

Though the activities of women were usually confined to their homes, we have evidence of their being engaged as servants and attendants in the homes of kings or affluent persons; and we have some evidence of the fact that they enjoyed freedom of movement. We notice them engaged otherwise, such as listening to the teachers,[41] giving discourses,[42] writing letters,[43] dancing with men (Photographs 15, 16),[44] as well as bearing arms for their self-defence.[45] Even goddess Uṣā, Pratyūṣā and Mahiṣāsuramardinī are shown armed with different weapons.

There are a number of panels which give us an idea of the dress, ornaments, coiffure, cosmetics, amusements and pastimes of the ladies of those times. It is apparent that though seclusion was enforced during the 10th and 11th centuries in Northern India, the *purdāh* system was totally absent in the region of Osian and women were free to move about in society. Thus, although women were usually held in great esteem, there were apparently exceptions and women were treated harshly sometimes.

There is a scene in the Sūrya temple which shows a man holding a sword in his right hand and pressing the mouth of a woman with the left hand, who is lying helplessly on the ground. She has raised her left hand, probably beckoning the lady standing before her. She has caught hold of the right leg of the man. The second woman is helping her to get up.[46]

A scene in the Piplā Devī temple shows three figures—one is a woman and the other two are men. Of these two, one is seated on the ground, his left arm has clasped the right leg of the woman, who is standing near him. He seems to have evil intentions towards her and is trying to draw her near him. He has a sword in his right hand. Another man is standing to the right of the seated man and he is holding the woman's hair. The second man is armed with a sword and evidently has come to push the woman to the wicked man.[47]

Elsewhere we notice a man, who has caught hold of the arms of a woman with his left hand and has raised his right hand, as if he is going to beat her. There is some indistinct object in his right hand.[48]

However, there are other scenes where we find a woman successfully resisting her assailants and even overpowering them. In a scene a woman has caught hold of the hair of a man who probably intended to molest her. She is pulling at his *dhotī* with her other hand, in consequence of which he looks half-naked, as if he is trying to free himself from her.[49] Again we notice a bearded man sitting on a low seat. A woman is standing in front of him. She has caught hold of the man's beard with her left hand and her right hand is raised, as if she is going to strike him.[50]

Standard of Living

It appears that during the 10th and 11th centuries, society had evolved into two, upper and lower, classes. The standard of living of the upper classes appears to be quite high. The upper classes of the people are shown being served (Photographs 9 and 12) by male and female servants.

The sculptures also present a picture of the poor sections of society wherein they can be distinguished from the upper classes by their dress and ornaments. They are either altogether without ornaments or with ornaments which are crude in shape. They must have engaged themselves in different economic pursuits involving labour, and we can easily presume that they worked hard to earn their livelihood. We have discussed their dress, ornaments and economic pursuits in subsequent chapters.[51]

Food and Drink

From very early times, food and clothing were the principal necessities of the people. As India has been an agricultural and pastoral country, there was a plentiful supply of good food to the people, which consisted of wheat, rice, barley, milk, honey and fruits.

Unlike the earlier sculptures, such as those at Sanchi and Bharhut, Osian sculptures throw very little

light on the articles of food. We can only presume that they must not have differed much from the articles of food consumed even today by the people in Rajasthan. Wheat, rice and pulses must have been the staple diet of the people. These are, however, not noticed in our sculptures; nor do they depict any preparation made of them. We have noticed elsewhere that cows, goats and buffaloes were domesticated. So milk and its preparations must have been an important item in the diet of the people. In one of the Kṛṣṇa-Līlā scenes, we notice Yaśodā churning milk and child Kṛṣṇa taking butter out of the same pot.[52] Fruits and vegetables, too, must have been commonly consumed by the common people. While vegetables are nowhere noticed in our sculptures, fruits like mangoes[53] and grapes[54] are delineated in certain scenes. Sweetmeats must have also been popular in those days as they are today, but our sculptures portray only *modakas* placed in a dish or a bowl held by Gaṇeśa in one of his hands or placed below his left leg (Photograph 35).[55]

Being worshippers of goddess Chāmuṇḍā, people also consumed meat in those days. The local tradition associated with the Jaina saint Dhuṇḍīmalla also asserts that a majority of the people of Osian were non-vegetarian. The sculptures depicting the life-story of Neminātha in the Jaina temple show a big procession of animals being led to be slaughtered for his marriage feast (Photograph 44).[56]

Several sculptures seem to suggest that drinking was also popular. In some of them the pot-bellied god Kubera is shown seated on a pedestal in an easy mood. His right hand holds a wine cup, and a wine flask in the left hand. He is drinking alone. In the other depictions, he is holding a wine cup or a *chaṣaka* in the right hand, while a female attendant is standing in front of him. From her posture, it appears as if she is waiting to pour wine into his wine cup.[57] Besides the delineations of god Kubera, the common class of people are also depicted drinking. In Harihara temple No. I, a man is seen with a cup, as if he is drinking wine from it.[58] In another scene, we notice two men seated, facing each other, with wine cups and wine flasks.[59] Elsewhere three drunkards are sitting together. Of these, the middle one has a wine jar, and the other two have wine cups in their hands. The man to the right of the centre figure appears to be persuading him to drink, for his left hand is pressing the head of the latter. The left one also is offering a cup to the same person.[60] In one of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* pillars of the Sachiyā Mātā temple, a man is shown with a wine bottle raised up to his mouth. He has also a bowl or some indistinct object in his left hand and a *yogapaṭṭa* wound round his knees.[61] In the Jaina temple we notice a couple seated on a pedestal. The man holds a cup or a bowl in his right hand, while his left hand has an indistinct object. The lady, seated on his left side, has a bottle in her hands. Her posture shows that she is filling his cup with wine.[62]

Perhaps women also took wine in the company of men. On one of the door-jambs of Viṣṇu temple No. II, a woman is shown seated, holding a cup in her right hand. A man, standing in front of her, has a bottle in his hands. It may contain wine, water, or a soft drink. It seems that he is poised to fill her cup again as soon as it becomes empty.[63]

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3. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer N. Wall.
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5. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Door-lintel, W. Corner.
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31. *Nārada Smṛti*, 10, 31.
32. For details see Chapter on "Iconography".
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41. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
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43. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
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45. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
46. Sūrya Temple, Aṅta, W. Wall.
47. P.D.T., Maṇḍ, E. Pillar.
48. J.T., closed hall, Architrave, W. Wall.
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53. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. Wall.
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58. H.H.T. No. I, Aṅta, fz, W. Wall.
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DRESS

DRESS is an important criterion of the taste of the wearer and also differentiates between the two sexes. It also gives us an idea of the cultural level attained by the people of a period in a particular region. Osian sculptures throw interesting light on the dress of the different classes of the people of the period under study. Particulars of dress, both male and female, are noticed in both human and divine beings.

Dress of Women

The dress of women, according to our sculptures, generally consists of a lower garment, such as *sārī*, *lahaṅgā* or *luṅgī*, and the upper garment includes the scarf (*dupaṭṭā*), bodice (*kañchukī*) and sometimes *kuḍtā* (*kañchukā*). Sometimes female images, both divine and human, are shown without an upper garment, for example, goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī in the Sūrya temple (Photograph 37)[1] and a lady in the Sachiyā Mātā temple have an undraped torso.[2] On the other hand, in some of the representations, goddesses, *apsarās* and womenfolk are shown putting on *kañchukā* and *dupaṭṭā*. Modern scholars have different opinions about the bareness of the upper part of the women, and they differ in their conclusions. First, Cunningham thought that nudity conveyed no sense of indecency in India prior to the advent of Muslims; so women in sculptures and paintings naturally appear to be scantily dressed.[3] In this connection, Charles Fabery states, "It is difficult to believe for most Indians of today that Indian women of all classes went about bare from the waist upwards (as do the Balinese) for many hundreds of years. . . . The evidence is not only overwhelming; it is absolutely conclusive. Anyone with eyes can see that in the whole history of Indian art, from the earliest times to approximately the twelfth century A.D., women are invariably shown (with the sole exception of foreign fashions at one period) as wearing no garment to cover their breasts."[4] Dr. J.N. Banerjea has a somewhat different opinion about the nudity of women, "It could not have been otherwise, for the nudity of the upper part of the body in the case of gods and goddesses had become an iconographic tradition."[5] It may also be possible lhat the sculpture of the age,

specially in depicting the goddesses, always presented them without any voluptuous curve in their bodies. "The iconographic texts further standardised these forms, and in the face of their minute prescriptions, the artists could not be expected to take liberties. The sculptures of heavenly beings wear a variety of lower garments and jewellery. Since man conceives his gods after his own image, we may regard the costumes of the divinities also as similar to those times."[6]

However, at Osian the sculptures of divine beings are shown wearing superior types of dresses, ornaments, coiffures, etc., to that of the common class of people.

Kañchukī

The breast garment called *kañchukī* covers the breasts only.[7] It is a small piece of cloth which just covers the middle portion of the breasts, while the abdomen and waist are left bare. Generally, it is beautifully fastened by two long strips in front (Pl. I, Fig. 6; Pl. II, Fig. 4).[8] As a variation, we notice a lady putting on a bodice in a different style. It is a bit broader at the back and goes round without any knot in front or at the back (Pl. VII, Fig. 1).[9]

In the Piplā Devī temple, we find two figures of goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī putting on a bodice and a *dupaṭṭā*. In one case, her bodice is elaborately tied in front. Its long strips are dangling down to the navel,[10] while in the other case she is wearing a striped bodice and her *dupaṭṭā* is seen below her bodice. Its long flowing ends rest in the middle of the waist (Pl. I, Fig. 5).[11]

Besides the bodice, in the Sachiyā Mātā temple, a lady is wearing a well-shaped, tight-fitting and stitched *kuḍtā* or *kañchukā* in place of the narrow striped bodice. It is not clear whether it is half-sleeved or sleeveless. It extends up to her loins with its sides open. The sides appear to be either embroidered or printed. It is tight and close-fitting and reveals the curves of her body (Pl. II, Fig. 1; Photograph 9).[12]

The bodice has been generally referred to by the word *stanāṁśuka*. This shows that the upper garment did not cover the entire thorax unlike the modern *cholī*, it covered the breasts alone and was worn with the help of bands.[13] It is still used by most women in South India, Rajasthan and in the locality around Mathura.[14]

Contemporary literature also provides various references to the dress of the ladies which was invariably used by them. The *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*[15] mentions *cholikā*. It was one of the most important garments of women, and they used to put it on for covering their chest region. *Yaśasatilakachampu*[16] also refers to the *cholikā*, a cloth for covering the breasts of women. Rājaśekhara suggests *kuppāsa* in the *Karpūramañjarī*,[17] a piece of cloth worn by the ladies for covering their breasts. A piece of cloth covering the breasts of women is also mentioned in the *Tilakamañjarī*.[18] In the *Śākuntalam*, Kālidāsa describes poetically: "A lady, seeing that her lover was gazing at her, put on her bodice (*kañchulikā*) to hide her breasts, but her feeling of passionate love made it burst, thus exposing her breasts to the greater delight of her lover."[19]

Another important item of apparel in the upper garment was the *dupaṭṭā*. It was one of the most considerable and popular articles of dress. This garment was invariably used by both sexes. The *dupaṭṭā*, which was usually worn by women, was long and thin which could be easily arranged in different ways. Generally, it was striped and beautifully thrown over the shoulders with its ends flowing down vertically on either side of the body. There are several scenes where we notice the ladies putting on the *dupaṭṭā* in various ways. These can be studied well with the help of illustrations and plates.

The *dupaṭṭā* was pleated and thrown over the back of the shoulders. Its two ends passed under the arms in front and the lower ends went smoothly downwards. In this case the breasts were fully exposed (Pl. II,[20] Fig. 2; Pl. III,[21] Fig. 2). This mode of using the *dupaṭṭā* appears to have been very popular with the ladies of the region. In the Jaina temple, a lady is shown wearing a pleated *dupaṭṭā* in a pleasing manner. It is gracefully placed at the middle of her back and the ends are dangling down on either side of the body in front, one end passing through her thigh and projecting back (Pl. III, Fig. 1).[22] In yet another case, the *dupaṭṭā* hangs in a curve about the middle of the back with the two ends flung in

front and hanging down (Pl. I, Fig. 4).[23] In another case, a lady has thrown her scarf carelessly over her shoulders. One of its ends is not visible and the other end hangs down and passes over her right thigh (Photograph 11).[24] Again a lady in the same temple has placed her *dupaṭṭā* in graceful manner on her body. One of its ends dangles down from her shoulder at the back and the other end by passing over the right breast is thrown loosely over the same arm (Pl. III, Fig. 1).[25]

The sculptures of Osian suggest that the *dupaṭṭā* was usually light and transparent. We notice that after beautifully folding it, it could be reduced to the size of a belt. There are many references to the *dupaṭṭā* in our literature of different times. According to Kālidāsa, the garment covering the breasts (*stanottarīya*) was so light that it could be displaced by breath.[26] In the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*[27] and *Tilakamañjarī*,[28] the *uttarīya* or *dupaṭṭā* was known as *aṁśuka-vastra*. Osian sculptures reveal that the scarf was also one of the most important items of apparel in the period under study. It was used both by the rich and the poor.

The Sārī

The *sārī* was the most important and most popular item of the dress of women. It was worn almost as it is worn now in modern Rajasthan. Our sculptures reveal that the ladies who belonged to the upper class of society always wore the *sārī* reaching down to their feet. On the other hand, the *sārī* of the poorer sections of the community reached either up to the knees or slightly below the knees. It was usually fastened round the waist; a part of it was converted into graceful pleats and tucked in front and the other end dangling downwards and finally thrown over the shoulders to wrap the upper part of the body. In our sculptures, the *sārī* has been worn both in *nirkachchha* and *sakachchha* fashion. The former style is popular in North India and the latter in South India, particularly in Maharashtra.

At Osian, a lady is shown wearing the *sārī*, the upper part of which is neatly striped and thrown over one of her shoulders.[29] In another case there is a variation, a lady is shown putting on a beautiful bordered and tight-fitting *sārī*. Its upper portion is striped and goes over her chest (Pl. VIII, Fig. 2).[30] There are certain images where we find ladies putting on a *sārī* just as males still do in Rajasthan. It is closely clinging to both the legs with folds clearly marked throughout, both on the front part and the rear part of legs. The *sārī* has been worn in *sakachchha* fashion, and both the lower ends appear to have been tucked at the back probably its upper end is fastened round the waist like a belt and forming into beautiful pleats which reach up to the ankles. Unlike the usual style of wearing the *sārī*, here it does not cover the upper part of the body (Pl. I,[31] Fig. 4; Pl. II,[32] Fig. 2).

In some of the sculptures, ladies are shown wearing a close-fitting *sārī* which looks like a pair of trousers. In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, goddess Pārvatī is putting on a tight-fitting *sārī* which goes up to her ankles. It looks like a close-fitting pair of trousers (Pl. I, Fig. 1).[33] Another similar figure is noticed in the same temple (Pl. II, Fig. 1; Photograph 9).[34]

Short-sized *sārīs*, like modern *luṅgīs*, were also used. They hardly reach up to the knees but may cling to the body.[35] A similar short-sized *sārī* is also noticed in a sculpture in the Jaina temple, where we find a lady either trying to put on or put off such a *sārī*, both its upper ends are in her hands (Pl. III, Fig. 3).[36]

The *lahaṅgā* or *ghāgrā* was as popular as the *sārī* with the ladies of the age represented by our sculptures. In literature, it is known as *chaṇḍātaka*.[37] It still retains its popularity in Rajasthan. It is a pleated garment narrow at the upper end and wide at the lower. A somewhat similar type of *lahaṅgā* noticed in our sculptures is sometimes plain and loose (Pl. I, Fig. 3).[38] At other times it seems tight-fitting with uniform horizontal and wavy lines at regular intervals (Pl. II, Fig. 3).[39] In some cases, we notice a loose *lahaṅgā* which is embroidered with floral designs. This type of garment was usually secured by a heavy girdle. It reaches down to the ankles in both cases. The female dancer wears either a *lahaṅgā* or a close-fitting *sārī* which usually goes down to the ankles. It must have proved convenient to the dancers while performing their dances (Pl. II, Fig. 5[40]; Photograph 16). Besides these, *chāmaradhāriṇīs* and other female attendants are also noticed putting on the same type of garment. A

somewhat similar type of *lahaṅgā* is noticed in the Deogarh sculptures, where Yaśodā, mother of Kṛṣṇa, is wearing the same garment round the lower part.[41]

A sculpture in Harihara temple No. I shows the lady putting on a one-piece garment stretched on her body. It is probably stitched in the centre. She holds the locks of her hair in her hands and appears to have just taken her bath (Photograph 10).[42]

The *sārī* is either plain or embroidered. Sometimes, a border at the top is visible. Unlike the later practice, the *sārī* does not cover the head in our sculptures (Pl. VIII, Fig. 2).

Male Dress

The male dress generally consisted of a headgear, an upper garment and a *dhotī* which covered the loins.

Headgears

Divine Mukuṭas

The images of gods as well as of goddesses are usually adorned with different kinds of *mukuṭas*. The majority of them are cylindrical in shape, with the broader part in front and gradually tapering backwards. Such crowns are worn above the forehead at the hair line and are completely open above. These are of different widths and are variously engraved and inlaid with pearls and precious stones in front of the median region with a crest at the top (Pl. XVII, Fig. 3).[43] Some of the *mukuṭas* have leaf-shaped designs, with beads along the border (Pl. XVII, Fig. 8).[44] A number of concentric circles may also figure in these designs. The lower and upper rims also have beads all along the border with vertical cross-bars, variously inlaid and ornamental, joining the two rims at regular intervals (Pl. XVII, Figs. 3 & 9).[45] Another modification of the central piece consists of a square with circular designs at its centre and pearls at the rims. This is topped by another semi-circular or petal-shaped metal piece having concentric designs around a large pearl of precious stone and forming the summit of the crown (Pl. XVII, Figs. 2, 8 & 9). The rest of the crown consisted of a beaded chain with a cordate metal piece hanging therefrom. Such a crown adorns several images of Gaṇeśa at Osian. A second kind of *mukuṭa* is worn much above the forehead and is covered at the top. At times, it has a polygonal shape on the outside (Pl. XVII, Figs. 2 & 9). In another variety, we notice three arches with beads of different sizes. The topmost having the biggest and the central arch has the smallest beads. In the centre under the third arch, there is a maltese cross with some gem or bead in the centre. At the centre, there hangs an ornament which looks like an inverted fleur-de-lis (Pl. XVII, Fig. 1).[46]

Along with the crown, tiaras were also worn above the *jaṭā-mukuṭas*. These were variously shaped, such as petal-shaped, leaf-shaped or rectangular pieces with beaded designs (Pl. XVII, Fig. 5)[47] and were kept in place by a number of beaded strings.

The images of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Śiva and some of the Aṣṭa-Dikpālas have the *kirīṭa*, *karaṇḍa* and *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, respectively (Pl. XVII, Figs. 2, 3, 8, 9, 4, 5). In the case of human figures, the head is generally bare showing locks of hair. In a few cases they are putting on a turban (*uṣṇīṣ*).[48] A cap is possibly seen in one sculpture.[49]

Upper Garments

The upper part of the body of the male figures is generally bare; but a study of a divine, a semi-divine and a human figure shows that the males used to put on a scarf or an *uttarīya* which covered either both shoulders or left one of them bare. It was usually neatly pleated and thrown over the shoulders, its ends dangling downwards (Pl. VIII, Fig. 1).[50] Sometimes the scarf was tied round the waist as a belt (*kaṭibandha*) with its small loops hanging down. It appears that this mode of wearing the

scarf was very popular in those days. The scarf was used by the musicians (Pl. VI, Fig. 5; Photograph 16),[51] warriors[52] and even by the teachers.[53]

In the cases of Sūrya and Revanta, we notice a close-fitting and stitched tunic (armour). Traces of sleeves are visible on their forearms (Photograph 39).

Lower Garments

Male figures are shown as wearing a *dhotī*, worn in different styles as illustrated in Pl. V,[54] Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Pl. VI,[55] Figs. 3 & 4; Pl. VIII,[56] Fig. 1). Such a difference in style is noticed even today in the region. Sometimes the *dhotī* is worn tightly and it clings to the legs (Pl. VI, Fig. 2).[57] The soldiers generally put on the *dhotī* in this fashion. It helps them in their swift movements (Pl. VII, Figs. 4 & 5).[58]

There are one or two sculptures in which we notice the man putting on what looks like a short or swim *jāṅghiā*. It is tied round the waist and does not reach down to the knees (Pl. V, Fig. 3).[59] In the Sūrya temple, a boy is seen wearing short and stitched garment which resembles the modern knickers. Long and broad pleats are to be seen in its middle. It does not reach down to the knees. It reaches only to the middle of the thigh (Pl. VI, Fig. 1).[60] In Sūrya images, we find the god putting on trousers (Photograph 42); but this article of dress is not noticed in the case of human beings. We are not sure whether it was commonly used in that period. The images of Revanta, Sūrya and his attendants are seen putting on socks and high boots (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 11),[61] but we do not notice any footwear in the case of ordinary human beings. Brahmā and Agni are also not seen putting on wooden slippers here, as we notice in the Khajuraho sculptures.[62]

The ascetics are also noticed putting on a *kaupīna*, i.e., a *laṅgotī* (in Hindi). It looks like a T-shaped garment and tied with two long bands, sometimes in front and sometimes at the rear, the rest of their body being left bare (Pl. VI, Fig. 6; Photograph 9).[63]

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5. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho*, p. 23; cf. *DHI*, p. 295.
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8. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, niches, Outer N. Wall.
9. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
10. P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
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12. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
13. *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, 6, 8. Cf. Upadhyaya, B.S., op. cit., p. 200.
14. Op. cit., p. 200.
15. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, 10, 33.
16. *Yaśasatilakachampu*, p. 10.
17. *Karpuramañjarī*, 1, 13, p. 13.
18. *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 338.
19. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho*, p. 24.
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27. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, 12, 40.
28. *Tilakamañjarī*, p. 24.
29. J.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
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55. Sūrya Temple, Door-jamb.
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ORNAMENTS

"BEAUTY is not merely a fact but a law. Love of beauty and adornment is inherent in nature, in man and God alike."[1] The passion for personal ornaments and decoration is common to every state of society.[2] In ancient times also, people decorated their bodies with various ornaments, as we see in modern times. Down the ages, man has been constantly endeavouring to make the self attractive not merely to individuals of the same sex. Attempts in this direction have possibly gained importance owing to the demands of physical needs ever since man attained the anthropomorphous stage. As he developed and gained more and more skill, his attempts at self-embellishment reflected the stage of development attained by him. Human society has gone on developing down the ages. Development in this direction has, to a large extent, been influenced by climate and geographical factors.

Savages in the distant past also had a desire to decorate their bodies to make them attractive and also for personal satisfaction. They started with bones, shells, etc., which were easily available; then they came to terracotta, pebbles, ivory, etc. Out of these, with the discovery of metals and precious stones, the art of making ornaments evolved to its present sophisticated stage. Ornaments made of ivory are extensively used even today. In a country rich in metals and precious stones like India, these attempts were of necessity directed towards perfecting metal ornaments with precious stones. In a tropical country like ours, clothes are liable to wear and tear more than ornaments made of metals and precious stones. For this reason also, such ornaments came to occupy an important place in the lives of men and women equally.

According to J.B. Bhushan, the women of Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro, and to some extent the men also, were fond of personal decoration. In the third millennium B.C., beads of different shapes were also in use as ear-studs, pendants, bracelets, necklaces and girdles. They were also used as amulets and talismans. Women covered their arms from the wrist right up to the elbow with terracotta or copper bangles. The excavations at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro have shown that gold and silver were used by rich, noble women and princes. Gold and silver were extremely rare, so common people did not appear to wear ornaments made from them; those unearthed are few in number and small

in size.[3] "In the Vedic age, the ornaments of men and women included rings, necklaces, earrings and bangles. The material of these ornaments was gold, silver and precious stones."[4] During the Gupta age, various types of ornaments were used. They were known as *bhūṣaṇa*, *ābharaṇa*, *alaṅkāra* and *maṇḍana*. Ornaments worn on the head were *chūḍāmaṇi*, *ratnajāla* or *mukṭajāla*, a net made of precious stones or pearls to cover the hair, jewels inserted in the tresses of hair, and *kirīṭa*, a tiara put on by kings; earrings (*karṇabhūṣaṇa*, *karṇapūra*, *kuṇḍala*, *maṇikuṇḍala*) made of rubies and costly stones; necklaces (*hāra*, *mutāvalī*, *hāraśekhara*, *hārayaṣṭi*, *suddha ekāvali*); of pearls and gems; armlets (*aṅgada* or *keyūra*) made of gold with gems were frequently used by both men and women. Bracelets (*valaya*) adorned the forearms of the two sexes. Girdles (*mekhalā*, *hemamekhalā*, *kāñchī*, *kanakakāñchī*, *kiṅkinī*, and *raśanā*). Anklets (*nūpura*) producing sweet sound adorned the ankles of men and women; they were made of various precious stones.[5]

With the growing accumulation of wealth in a few hands and the consequent differences in social status, ornaments came to signify the social standing of the individual. Indian frescoes and sculptures are extremely rich in this direction.

In the 8th to 12th centuries, to which the temples of Osian belong, both male and female figures are shown as using headgear (*mukuṭas*), earrings (*kuṇḍalas*), necklaces (*hāra*) both long and short, armlets (*keyūras*), bracelets (*valayas*) of various shapes and designs, elaborate girdles (*mekhalā*) and anklets (*nūpuras*). These ornaments were to be seen with all classes of people with the intricacy of design, of course, depending on the status of the wearer.

The sculptures of gods and goddesses as well as of human beings at Osian are shown with different types of ornaments and jewellery which have been depicted on the different parts of their bodies.

Head Ornaments

None of the ornaments described above, except the *mukuṭa*, showed any difference between those meant for males and females. Headgears, however, are the only ornaments which show some differences between the sexes. In the case of male statues found in the present series of temples, only persons of a higher social status and gods are shown wearing a tiara. In the case of women, large, globular studs, or the *keśaphūlas*, *bendās*, are worn by the female figures of all classes. This ornament has been popular for ages and has survived even to this day particularly among Rajput and Marwari ladies. Besides this, goddesses are also shown wearing arm-bands as well, though more ornate than and different from those worn by males.

Female Head Ornaments

Bendās are worn by married women of all classes. Differences in social status are projected mainly by chains going round the head over the hair on each side holding the *bendā* in place. Those of the affluent classes have multi-stranded, highly elaborate gold or silver chains with beads or pearls, gold pieces and precious stones for holding the *bendā*, while those of modest means use simple strings or wires to support their *bendās*.

The *bendā* proper was round (Pl. XV, Fig. 4[6]), or arched (Pl. XV, Fig. 1[7]), or oval (Pl. XV, Fig. 2[8]; Photograph 37). All these types are highly ornate, usually with a series of concentric rings of beads or pearls along the margin. Often the circlets radiated from a large central bead, pearl or gem.

Teekā is another important ornament for married women. It is a beautifully designed ornament made up of a cluster of beads, precious stones, pearls, etc., with metal pieces. The *ṭeekā* hangs on the forehead, or just above it, and is held in position by a long beaded chain, passing across the middle of the head (*sīmānta*), its end being inserted in the big bun at the back with the help of a loop (Pl. XV, Fig. 3[9]).

Borlās or *keśaphūlas*, mentioned earlier, are globular studs variously ornamented and inlaid with beads, pearls and other semi-precious stones in various designs worn by married women. Though very

common in Rajasthan today, this ornament is not found in any sculpture at Osian.

Ear Ornaments

In the early periods of Indian civilization, men and women considered large ear ornaments, inserted in the lobes, as an aid to personal beauty.[10]

"The custom of perforating the ear-lobes and ears for the insertion of various types of ear ornaments is very old in India, and it is still current among the women, though in a much restricted manner; but in ancient and mediaeval times it was common to both men and women. The ceremony of *karṇavedha* (perforation of the ear) is one of the important *saṁskāras* in the life of a twice-born, and the wearing of *kuṇḍalas* was once regarded as one of the privileges of a *brahmachārin* (student initiate) and of a *gṛhastha* householder."[11]

Our sculptures also bear the evidence of ear ornaments; but these are not so numerous as we notice in the Khajuraho groups.[12] At Osian, ear ornaments are not as varied as the other ornaments. A majority of the ear ornaments belong to the ring or *kuṇḍala* type. We have a broad crescent-shaped earring with a design of arches on the surface, suspended from the ear-lobe (Pl. IX, Fig. 7[13]), or having a wire suspender (Pl. IX, Fig. 10[14]). A similar but plain earring hangs from the ear-lobe (Pl. IX, Fig. 8[15]). A plain circular earring (Pl. I, Figs. 4 & 6; Pl. VI, Figs. 1 & 3; Pl. VIII, Fig. 3; Pl. IX, Fig. 9[16]; Photograph 30), or an engraved oval earring (Photograph 37), or a rectangular earring hangs from the ear-lobe (Pl. IX, Fig. 14[17]). A thin spiral wire, winding like a watch-spring passing through the ear-lobe, is also observed (Pl. IX, Fig. 13[18]). An oval-shaped earring with the centre embossed and the margin beaded all along, and fixed on the lobe has been noticed (Pl. IX, Fig. 11[19]); so also a small round plate with a beaded design or beads on the surface is fixed on the ear-lobe (Pl. IX, Fig. 12[20]). It is probable that these ornaments were fixed on the lobes with screwed plus and nuts as today.

A common variety of the *kuṇḍala* was a ring made of a cylindrical tube, and it was fixed on the ear-lobe, as in the last two ornaments described above (Photograph 11). A variation of this is found with a central piece in the ring (Photograph 31).

The hanging earrings are known as *kuṇḍalas* and the fixed ones are called *karṇabhūṣaṇa*, now called *karṇaphūlas*.

Neck Ornaments

Necklaces were worn by both male and female figures, the difference between the two occasionally being an extra pendant hanging from a long chain between the breasts and reaching up to or below the navel in the female. Compared to other ornaments, necklaces show a wide range of variation in our sculptures. Basically two main types can be distinguished: (i) short necklaces, worn close to the neck, and (ii) long necklaces, worn low down on the chest. Besides these, a long *vanamālā* is noticed in some of the figures of male gods; it goes down to the knees, or even lower.

Necklaces are either short or long, and single, double or treble stringed. They are described below.

The simplest and commonest necklace consists of a single string of beads (*ekāvali*) (Pl. I, Fig. 5; Pl. VIII, Fig. 1; Pl. IX, Fig. 5[21]), or a single string of beads with a pendant hanging from the centre by a beaded string (Pl. X, Fig. 6[22]).

Other varieties are:

A single string of round beads with oval-shaped beads or metal pieces hanging from the round beads (Pl. X, Fig. 1[23]).

A single string of beads with triangular metal pieces and a bud-shaped pendant hanging by a double line of wire (Pl. XII, Fig. 3[24]).

A single string of beads arranged between two wires and beads or metal pieces hanging from the lower wire (Pl. IX, Fig. 6[25]).

The two- and three-row short necklaces are detailed below:

A double row of beads has the first row arranged on a broad flat metal wire, and the beads in the second row have half beads soldered below them with oval-shaped beads, pearls or metal pieces hanging therefrom (Pl. IX, Fig. 2[26]).

Two rows of beads have oval metal pieces which hang from the lower row (Pl. XII, Fig. 2[27]).

Two simple rows of beads have a third row of beads with diamond-shaped metal pieces attached to them (Pl. IX, Fig. 3[28]).

Two rows of simple beads have a third row of oval-shaped beads and a lily-shaped locket attached to the central bead (Pl. X, Fig. 3[29]).

The first row has simple beads, but the second row has a little bigger beads with comparatively broad metal pieces, and the third row, the longest, has oval-shaped beads or metal pieces (Pl. X, Fig. 7[30]).

The first is of simple beads, and the second row lower down is made up of wires, and the third row has beads with beautifully designed bells attached to them (Pl. X, Fig. 8[31]).

Three rows of round beads are close together, and the fourth is a broad metal band having diamond-shaped or metal trimmings (Pl. IX, Fig. 4[32]).

The long necklaces are comparatively simple and are composed of one (Pl. X, Fig. 4; Pl. XII, Figs. 1 & 2[33]), or two (Pl. X, Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. XII, Fig. 3[34]), or three rows of beads or pearls strung together by a wire (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2[35]).

Sometimes the single-beaded necklace makes a loop between the breasts (Pl. XII, Fig. 2[36]), or may encircle them (Pl. XII, Fig. 1[37]), or even may rest upon them (Pl. XII, Fig. 3[38]).

We notice two strings of beads coming down almost to the navel (Pl. X, Fig. 2[39]), or two rows of beads or pearls are alternate with wires (Pl. X, Fig. 1[40]), or they are arranged on opposite sides of a wire (Pl. XII, Fig. 3).

In the case of three necklaces of beads, the first, the smallest one, has the smallest beads; the second has a little bigger beads; the third, the longest, has the biggest beads (Pl. X, Fig. 3).

Tonk or *haṁsulī* was also used by women. We notice a *haṁsulī* with a leaf-shaped pendant going round the neck of a lady (Pl. IX, Fig. 1[41]).

Arm Ornaments

Arm ornaments include armlets or *keyūras* and bracelets. The former are worn on the upper arms, while bracelets adorn the wrists and the forearms and as usual were used both by men and women of the period under study, the men wearing only a single pair. The range of variety shown by the ornaments is rather small, and as expected those from the earlier period are not so elaborate. In the later period also, in comparison to that of other contemporary temples like the other Chandella sculptures, this range is quite narrow owing probably to the smaller amount of material available there.

Armlets (*Aṅgada*, *Keyūra*)

Persons of all levels used arm-bands. The various designs of these are, however, comparatively simple, and are based primarily on beads of various sizes, both circular and elongated, either used alone as beaded strings, or studded on to metallic cylinders. Sometimes other metallic pieces, shaped as buds or tridents, are also incorporated in between. Use of cylindrical or solid rod designs does not seem to have been much in vogue in this region as at other ancient places. The armlets that have been noticed fall into five broad categories. Those consisting of different designs of beads on a narrow or broad circular band (type I); those having metal pieces fused on broad bands (type II); those having beads shaped like tear-drops or oval, either alone or hanging from beads above (type III); those having floral designs along with beads (type IV); and those constructed with metal bands arching up (type V) are the various types generally noted.

Armlets of the first type, built of a narrow band (Pl. XI, Figs. 1, 4, 9, 11, 12, 14 & 15), are comparatively simple in style, and are worn by both male and female figures. These were obviously worn by all

classes of people. This type of armlet has usually a row of beads or pearls studded on to the bands. In some the row of beads is quite narrow, but the band is broad (Pl. XI, Fig. 4[42]), or the beads are very small, but the band is exceedingly broad (Pl. XI, Fig. 11[43]), or the beads are big, but the band is so broad as to leave sufficient space above and below the beads (Pl. XI, Fig. 14[44]), or the band is comparatively narrow having a raised rim above and below, the beads are sufficiently big to fill up the intervening space (Pl. XI, Figs. 1 & 9[45]), or a rimmed band has beads alternating with vertical metal pieces (Pl. XI, Fig. 15[46]). Some of the images have two strings of beads on each arm (Pl. XI, Fig. 12[47]).

The second type of armlets are constructed of broad metal bands of varying breadths (Pl. XI, Figs. 2, 5 & 7) with variations of bead patterns on them. These are comparatively elaborate and are worn by persons of consequence or of the higher strata. The simplest type of these has the lower edge studded with beads, and is thin and plain, while the upper edge, comparatively broad, bulges out and ends in a pointed apex (Pl. XI, Fig. 2[48]). One of the more elaborate types of these has two lines of beads on a band, the upper line of beads tapering in the centre, and a square metal piece lies in the centre in between the lines of beads, having its two upper angles touching two beads, and its sides slightly concave (Pl. XI, Fig. 5[49]). In another variation, a broad band with a row of beads in the centre has at the top a half moon with its rim beaded (Pl. XI, Fig. 7[50]).

The third type of armlets are composed of differently shaped beads, either alone or with others (Pl. XI, Figs. 3, 10, 13 & 18). The simplest type of these has the beads shaped like tear-drops (Pl. XI, Fig. 13[51]) or oval (Pl. XI, Fig. 18[52]). In a somewhat more elaborate type, the whole width of the band is occupied by beads, the upper row of these consisting of large circular beads running just along the upper edge. The beads in the lower row are like tear-drops and they are set below the beads on the upper edge (Pl. XI, Fig. 3[53]). In another variation the band is studded with beads all round and from each bead an oval-shaped bead or metal piece hangs down (Pl. XI, Fig. 10[54]).

The fourth type of armlets are made of one or more rows of beads with broad floral designs joining at the top (Pl. XI, Figs. 16 & 17). One of these armlets has three rows of beads, the uppermost having the smallest ones, being divided into two sections and the lowermost, the biggest beads. There is a broad metal lily in the gap of the beads in the centre of the topmost line with a rectangular base (Pl. XI, Fig. 16[55]). The most elaborate type of this ornament has intricate designs on it. All along the upper rim, there is a row of beads with bud-shaped designs below alternate beads. There is a metallic arch above this rim with a lily superimposed upon it in the median region with a knobbed square base serving as the stalk of the lily. This design at the top has one petal on either side and a bud in the centre (Pl. XI, Fig. 17[56]).

The fifth type consists of a cylindrical rod tapering towards the ends, and knobbed and bent upwards in the median region. A small circlet of beads hangs from the two knobs of the armlet in the arch formed by the two ends (Pl. XI, Fig. 6[57]). Another armlet of this type of a very simple band arching up with a flat top and a vertical square piece, with a small design in the centre, hangs from the thin rod joining the two ends (Pl. XI, Fig. 8[58]).

Bracelets (*Valayas*)

Surprisingly enough, very little diversity is seen in this ornament. Basically, two types of bracelets are noticed at Osian. The first type is a hollow, cylindrical tube, or variations thereof with or without engraved designs, and the second type is a flat or rounded band of various widths.

The first type of bracelets, *kaṅganas*, are made essentially of a ring of a hollow tube and mostly have designs engraved on the surface (Pl. XI, Figs. 19, 20 & 22). These *kaṅganas* are worn around each wrist either singly (Pl. XI, Fig. 19[59]; Photographs 10 and 37), or in pairs (Pl. XI, Fig. 22[60]).

The second type consists of bracelets which are essentially cylindrical tubes either narrow, or broad, or solid bands (Pl. XI, Figs. 20 and 23[61]; Photograph 12) worn in series (Pl. XI, Figs. 22 and 23[62]; Photograph 12) covering sometimes more than half of the forearms, lending elegance to the round arms of the wearer. The simplest types bear no designs (Pl. XI, Fig. 23). The more elaborate ones are

composed of beaded bands alternating with plain ones (Pl. XI, Figs. 21 and 22). Bracelets were often used along with *kaṅganas*, being either at the bottom or both at the bottom and at the top of the *kaṅganas* (Photographs 9, 12 & 14). *Kaṅganas* fastened by a pin have also been seen (Photograph 30).

Girdle (Mekhalā)

Girdles or waist-bands have been popular in this country for ages and have survived all the vicissitudes that have befallen this part of the land during the long period, at least in regard to female attire. *Mekhalās* consist of a series of chains or strings some horizontal, some hanging freely downward as tassels, and others arranged in small or large loops. These girdles were extremely elaborate in their design, usually there was no difference between the male and female girdles during the period under review.

The basic part of the girdle consisted of a waist-band or belt with a highly ornate central clasp. The belt was possibly not merely an ornament, but also served as an additional support to the lower garment which often consisted of a *dhotī*. In the females, girdles with their sundry attachments greatly served to accentuate the curves of the body and the slimness of the waist. That could possibly be the chief reason for their having held feminine fancy for so long. At Osian all three components of this ornament, viz., (i) the waist-band or belt, (ii) the tassels, and (iii) the various looped chains are present.

Waist-bands are ornamental belts of metal bands, some with intricately carved central clasps, worn rather low on the pelvis below the navel. In most cases, the clasps are behind the body. They are of several types and of various widths, and have two basic ornamental patterns, the beaded horizontal lines and the oblique parallel lines as decorative motifs.

The simpler bands consisting of two simple beaded strings are worn either separately (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1[63]), or joined together (Pl. XIII, Fig. 2; Pl. XIV, Fig. 1[64]). A slight variation of this in conformity with the anatomy of the wearer has the lower row wider than the upper. Usually the waist-bands are very broad and simple. The former girdles have the beads all along the margins (Pl. XII, Fig. 1[65]) or a little away from, but parallel to the margins (Pl. XIV, Fig. 6[66]) and the central portion is simple and without any designs. In one pattern, there are only two beaded lines. In between them there are two sets of parallel, oblique lines joining in the middle to form angles (Pl. XII, Fig. 1[67]). Two beaded rows have angular designs between them (Pl. XII, Fig. 2; Pl. XIII, Fig. 3[68]). Another pattern has three rows of beads, two along the two margins, and one in the centre with an oblique-line pattern in between the beaded rows (Pl. XII, Fig. 3; Pl. XIII, Fig. 1[69]). In another type, the beaded pattern is replaced by a series of oblique, parallel lines throughout (Pl. XII, Fig. 6; Pl. XIII, Fig. 5; Pl. XIV, Fig. 4[70]).

Some of the belts have variously shaped metal pieces attached to them to act as clasps and also to enhance the beauty of the belt. These pieces are leaf-shaped (Pl. XII, Fig. 1; Pl. XIV, Fig. 3[71]), or flower-shaped (Pl. III, Fig. 4; Pl. XII, Fig. 5; Pl. XIII, Fig. 5; Pl. XIV, Fig. 4[72]).

Tassels are freely hanging composite strings which are attached to waist-bands. They add to the beauty and charm of the girdles as much as to that of the wearer. Their number and length are variable; usually there is one set hanging between the thighs, and one on each thigh. Tassels can also be seen hanging down the middle of the hip. The central set in front is usually the more elaborate. Tassels may be short reaching halfway down the thighs (Pl. XII, Fig. 2; Pl. XIII, Figs. 3 & 4; Pl. XIV, Figs. 1, 2 & 5[73]) or a little lower (Pl. III, Figs. 4 & 5; Pl. XII, Figs. 1, 3, 4, 5 & 6; Pl. XIII, Fig. 6; Pl. XIV, Figs. 3, 4 & 6[74]; Photographs 11 and 14).

The tassels may be double (Pl. III, Fig. 5; Pl. XII, Figs. 3, 4 & 5; Pl. XIII, Fig. 4; Pl. XIV, Figs. 1, 2 & 5[75]), or treble (Pl. III, Fig. 4; Pl. XII, Figs. 1, 2 & 6; Pl. XIV, Figs. 3, 4 & 6[76]; Photographs 11 and 14).

The simplest tassels consist of a single vertical column of beads or pearls. Often metal pendants are bell-shaped (Pl. XII, Fig. 2[77]), or bud-shaped (Pl. XII, Fig. 2; Pl. XIV, Figs. 3 & 5[78]), or flower-shaped (Pl. XII, Figs. 1 & 3; Pl. XIV, Fig. 1[79]). In another variation, each tassel consists of two strings of beads ending in a simple metal piece (Pl. III, Fig. 4[80]), or flower-shaped pendants (Pl. XII, Figs. 4, 5 & 6;

Pl. XIII, Figs. 3 & 6; Pl. XIV, Fig. 4), or leaf-shaped (Pl. XIV, Fig. 6[81]), or bud-shaped (Pl. III, Fig. 5[82]).

The system of looped chains is very elaborate. Usually one or two stranded strings are attached to the belt at regular intervals with flower-shaped designs in some cases, where they are attached to the belts (Pl. XII, Fig. 5, Pl. XIII, Fig. 5; Pl. XIV, Fig. 5[83]). Often a single series of loops has been observed (Pl. III, Fig. 4; Pl. XII, Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5 & 6; Pl. XIII, Figs. 2 & 5; Pl. XIV, Figs. 1-5; Photographs 12 and 14). Sometimes, however, there are two such series (Pl. III, Fig. 5; Pl. XII, Fig. 3; Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 & 4; Pl. XIV, Fig. 6). In some cases the looped chains, either single (Pl. I, Fig. 4) or double (Pl. XIII, Fig. 4; Pl. XIV, Fig. 6), are seen on the *kaṭi* (at the back) emphasising its curve. Some of these looped chains are simple (Pl. XIV, Fig. 3), and some are trimmed in various designs (Pl. III, Fig. 4; Pl. XII, Figs. 1-6; Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 4, 5 & 6; Pl. XIV, Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5 & 6).

Like the waist-bands, the looped chains are also of different designs. The simple type has a single row of beads all along (Pl. XIV, Fig. 3). In more elaborate ones, there are two strings of beads joined together (Pl. XIV, Fig. 6). Sometimes they are trimmed either with round beads (Pl. I, Fig. 4), or are rectangular, or elongated or conical beads or metallic pieces (Pl. III, Figs. 4 & 5; Pl. XII, Figs. 1-6; Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 5 & 6; Pl. XIV, Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5 & 6; Photographs 12 and 14). These metallic pieces swing freely and sparkle in the bright light.

Anklets

An ornament, which was only used for the ankles, was worn alike by men and women of every class in ancient India along with the other ornaments for the body, like the *bendā*, necklaces, earrings and girdles. This is called *nūpura* (anklet). It was also known as *kinkinī*. In modern times, it is still used by women, but not by men. It was considered a sign of married bliss by Hindu ladies. In our sculptures mostly we find the anklet resting upon the instep of the foot or a little beyond.

The anklets, which have been depicted in the Osian sculptures, have different designs, such as a single line of small round beads (Pl. XI, Fig. 28[84]), or a single line of comparatively big beads soldered to two metal wires on either side (Photograph 35), or a circle of interlaced rings (Pl. XI, Figs. 24 & 25[85]), or designs engraved on a broad metal band (Pl. I, Fig. 2; Pl. XI, Fig. 26[86]), or beads or flat metal pieces or beads strung together with wires (Pl. VIII, Fig. 1; Pl. XI, Fig. 27[87]), or two simple metal bands forming the anklet and coming upon the instep (Photograph 37).

The dancers in their dancing performances always wore these ringing anklets which produced sweet melodious sounds. Two ladies with heavy anklets on their feet can be seen in two of the sculptures.[88]

The most favourite among the ornaments at Osian was the anklet which can be seen on the ankles of most sculptures at Osian. However, nose-rings, finger-rings and rings for the toes are missing at Osian.

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COIFFURE AND COSMETICS

OSIAN sculptures show that the ladies were very particular about their hairdo. They washed and combed their hair with great care and attention. Actually there is no scene in which a lady is shown busy in washing and combing her hair or even giving the finishing touches with the help of a mirror; but we can safely presume it from the different types of chignons of the ladies which have been depicted in our sculptures. There are three scenes in the area where we notice a lady squeezing her long tresses[1] (Pl. VII, Fig. 3). It seems that ladies, after nourishing their hair, gave shapes to it according to their desire. Usually the ladies of upper classes tied their tresses either in loose knots, or they collected it into a knot at the centre of their heads. When the bun was made, they tied or hung beaded strings from it as an extra ornamentation to the tresses. Many styles of hair dressing are noticed in the Osian sculptures. Some of these are very attractive and very noticeable.

Female Coiffure

In the sculptures of Osian, the hairdo of the goddesses, *apsarās* and their attendants has been depicted in various modes and patterns. In the case of goddesses and *apsarās*, their hair is arranged in different types of knots which enhance their beauty and also give us an idea of the fashions of the time. There are some uncommon instances as follows.

Pl. XV, Fig. 4[2]

In the Piplā Devī temple, goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī is shown with her hair combed upwards and tied slightly on the right side of her head in a disc-shaped *dhammilla*. A *bendā* is inserted at the centre to keep the hair in round shape.

Pl. XV, Fig. 2[3]

In another image of the same goddess, the hair is simply combed backwards with a parting in the

middle of her head. It is loosely knotted into disc shape and rests on the right side of her nape. A heavy *bendā* with heavy chains is placed in the centre of the parting which makes her look more attractive.

Pl. XV, Fig. 3[4]

This is an alluring coiffure of goddess Gaja-Lakṣmī. Her tresses are also combed upwards without any parting and knotted to form a big chignon at the centre of her head. Here, a *ṭeekā* with a long beaded string is to be seen in the middle of her bun, which is inserted at the back. It distinguishes married Hindu ladies.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 4[5]

In this illustration, goddess Pārvatī is shown with the hair combed upwards and tied in an elongated *dhammilla* at the centre of her head. It is also adorned with beaded ornaments.

Pl. XVII, Fig. 1[6]

The coiffure of goddess Lakṣmī is also very attractive and elaborate like that of Pārvatī described above. Her long tuft of hair is combed upwards and slightly tied at the back of the head in the *dhammilla* fashion. In this image a metallic flower with beaded strings is fastened around it to keep it in proper shape.

The sculptures of goddess Gaṅgā and Yamunā also portray their hairdo. Their hair has been combed back, and then the flowing hair is coiled into a loose chignon at their right or left side touching their shoulders.[7]

Pl. XVI, Fig. 2[8]

This kind of bun must have been confined to the upper class ladies who had sufficient time and leisure. In this composition, the chignon is profusely decorated with jewellery. The long and heavy tresses are combed upwards, then the hair is gathered together on the right side and loosely knotted on the nape. Its one small loop is hanging down at her back. From the top of the bun, a beaded string entwines it.

Pl. XVII, Fig. 6[9]

This is also an elaborate hair-style of an *apsarā* whose hair has been combed upwards without any parting (*sīmānta*) in the centre, leaving some small curls on the forehead and then arranged in the form of a semi-circular or in a crescent-like bun. A ribbon is tied in the middle to keep it in shape. It is knotted to form a bow on the left side of the head, the long ends of which are touching her ear.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 5[10]

This is a simple and dignified coiffure of an *apsarā*. Her hair is combed back and the tuft of hair fastened into an elongated knot at the back. A big precious stone or *bendā* with a small beaded string is coiled round the bun. Its small string with a flower is hanging down on her nape.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 7[11]

It shows a lady with an attractive style. Her hair is fully combed back as usual and placed near the left ear; after this, the mass of hair has been divided into five strands. These are twisted and rolled

separately near the same like a cork-screw.

One sculpture draws our attention to the pleasing hair-style of a lady whose hair is combed back like the above one, but her mass of hair is divided into two parts and then knotted into loose chignons by entwining it near the left ear. A *bendā* is fixed with beaded strings in the middle of her head.[12]

Pl. XVIII, Fig. 5[13]

In this figure, the hair of a lady is simply combed back with a parting in the middle. The long tresses are coiled in a small bun at the top of the head.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 3[14]

This shows a lady with her hair elaborately combed back showing several small buns towards the back and tresses formed into a spiral on the right side.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 6[15]

It shows a lady having her hair combed upwards and formed into a big chignon on the right side of the head.

Photograph 9[16]

In this illustration the hair of a lady is simply combed back without parting. The mass of hair is gathered together at the back and then converted into a loose knot near her left ear. One of its small ends is suspended from it which is seen on her left shoulder. It is also adorned with beaded strings.

The hair of another *apsarā* is combed like a wig and is gathered together at her right side and made into a loose knot on the nape like a circular disc. A figure to the right of this one has a wig-shaped hair-style with the central part going up. From these examples, we may conclude that the most prevalent hair-style in Jaina temple is wig-shaped.[17]

Pl. XV, Fig. 1[18]

The image of *śālabhañjikā* shows her hair combed back. The bunch of hair, neatly arranged into a knot, hangs down by the side of her left ear. A *bendā* with a heavy chain is fixed in the middle of her parting.

Pl. XVI, Fig. 1[19]

The hair-style of another *śālabhañjikā* in Harihara temple No. II is sculptured somewhat differently from the previous one. Here her hair is simply combed with a long parting down the middle; but in this case it is coiled in disc shape in place of concentric arches. The *bendā* is missing, only a beaded string is visible on the bun which makes her look more pleasing.

The hair of the attendant of the *śālabhañjikā* (*pratihārī*) has been combed back and made into a small tail by twisting it; it rests on the nape.[20]

Pl. VII, Fig. 2[21]

Osian sculptures also represent the *veṇī* of a female attendant standing with her back to the visitors. Her long tresses are tied into a long braid or *veṇī* which goes down to her *mekhalā* or waist as even today.

Pl. VII, Fig. 3[22]

Loose hair is also noticed in our sculptures. In the Jaina temple an *apsarā* is standing on a pedestal. Her long hair is combed towards the right, leaving small curls on the forehead and a short hair parting which is profusely decorated with flowers and other ornaments. The locks of hair are seen loosely falling on her right side. Again we notice a lady with loose hair in the same temple. The only difference is that her tresses are combed towards the right without parting and are not adorned with any sort of ornament.[23] A somewhat similar sculpture is noticed in the Sachiyā Mātā temple.[24]

The details given above clearly indicate that different styles of hairdo were prevalent among the women in the period represented by our sculptures.

Male Hair-Styles

Osian sculptures also throw some light on the hair-styles adopted by men. They are, however, not as varied as those of the ladies. Closely-cropped hair may have been in vogue then, as it is now; but it is not illustrated in our sculptures. They reveal that men also used to maintain long hair which was usually combed back. In certain cases we notice the parting of hair in the middle of the head. Sometimes it is simply combed back, and sometimes it is gathered together into a knot in the centre of the head.

Various hair-styles of men have been depicted in the sculptures of Osian. From these we can infer that men were also interested in the making of different and elaborate hair-styles like women. Generally, the men of the upper class combed their hair upwards and coiled it into elongated knots in the middle of their head (Photograph 23, left hand lowest figure).[25]

The common people tied their hair into simple knots owing to lack of time and leisure, and that is why they always made simple buns. Their chignons seen in the sculptures are formed into big or small knots.[26] Sometimes the long tresses have been simply coiled at the centre of the head (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 7).[27]

In the Sūrya temple and Harihara temple No. II, some male figures are shown standing in separate niches, whose hair is combed upwards and tied at the top of the head to look like caps (Pl. VI, Fig. 1).[28]

In some cases, the male figures are shown with the hair combed upwards. At the top of the head, it is tied with beaded strings for the firmness of the bun and then the hair is seen in fillets or curled bands (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1).[29]

The hair of the soldiers is also observed in our sculptures. They appear to have knotted the mass of their hair in simple and plain chignons either on the top of the head or on one side of it.[30]

The hair-style of the musicians, too, is noticed here. In some cases, they have combed their hair back and then knotted it to form a small chignon at the back, which is seen slightly above the nape (Pl. XIX, Figs. 13 & 14).[31] Sometimes the hair is combed back as noted above, and then twisted into curled bands on the right or left side (Photograph 15).[32] "The men's heads are dressed in tight curled wigs familiar from Deogarh and Padmavati."[33] In the Jaina temple we notice a musician with short, loose hair which is combed back and falls on his shoulders. Another has his hair combed as described above, but his long tresses are coiled into a loose knot which rests on his back.[34]

Our sculptures also give an idea of the hair-style adoped by ascetics. Their figures can be noticed in two of the subsidiary shrines of the Sachiyā Mātā temple. They are shown with *jaṭābhāra* on their heads, sometimes divided into two equal parts and wound round their heads like a turban.[35] A similar style is also noticed at Bhubaneswar[36] and Khajuraho.[37] In the latter case, the heavy *jaṭās* are divided into two strands and then go slightly crosswise on the forehead and also coiled on the top of the head.[38]

In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, some of the ascetics are shown with a big chignon at the centre of their head like the *dhammilla* of a female. It is also adorned with a tiara, etc. The hair is combed upwards and then knotted in the shape of a *dhammilla* (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 4).[39] In some cases, the ascetics are shown without *jaṭābhāras*. Their hair is fully combed back without making any parting which makes their forehead look much broader (Pl. XVIII, Figs. 2, 3, 6 & 8).[40] There are no shaven-headed ascetics in our sculptures.

Hair-Styles of Gods

The hair dressing of the divine beings is also sculptured according to the taste of time. In one of the images of Brahmā, his long hair is combed down and gathered into a loose knot. He is putting on a tiara with beaded strings on it (Pl. XVII, Fig. 5).[41]

Upraised hair is also noticed in some of the images of gods, as for example, in Bhairava, Yama, Nirriti and Garuḍa. Sometimes their hair is tied in the shape of a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* (Pl. XVI, Fig. 8)[42] and sometimes they are shown with loose upraised hair in curl bands (Pl. XVII, Fig. 7).[43] We notice a peculiar style in the case of a Garuḍa image in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. He has loose, upraised hair and the tuft is tied with a long ribbon to keep it in shape. It seems that in those times men also used ribbons to keep their hair in position.[44] In one of the images of Yama, the hair has been combed up. It has four coils at the top with either a ring or circlet or a ribbon wound round the hair to keep the coils in position and shape. It is a remarkable example of the male hair-style.[45]

We also come across examples of curly hair in Osian sculptures. It is shown both in the images of divine and human beings. It appears that curly hair was also in fashion, as, for example, in Kubera.

Beards and Moustaches

The beards and moustaches of the male figures are also portrayed in our sculptures. It seems that beards and moustaches were in vogue in those days. Even today we can see in Rajasthan that the Rajputs like to keep long and thick moustaches. At Osian most of the images have been found clean-shaven; still some of them are shown with beards and moustaches. These are mostly observed in the figures of ascetics and of gods Agni and Brahmā.

Agni and Brahmā are usually shown with a long and thick beard,[46] but in some cases it is short and light. The ascetics, too, are depicted with a thick beard tapering at the end (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 8).[47] Sometimes their beard is thick on the chin (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 4),[48] and several ascetics are shown with a long and tapering beard which is knotted at the end (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 6).[49] In some other cases small curly hair is seen all over the face (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2).[50] In one case the long shapely beard is twisted into a curve along the edge (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3).[51]

The depiction of moustaches only is also noticed in several sculptures. In one of the images, Agni is depicted with long and thick moustaches with the ends turned up.[52] At another place we notice the figure of an ascetic, who has long and thick moustaches with the ends turned on his cheeks (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2).[53] Sometimes their moustaches were long and thin (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3).[54] An ascetic wears thick and simple moustaches (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 8).[55]

Cosmetics

In very ancient times, both men and women were always particular about their personal beauty. Even in modern times, we notice that both men and women are beauty-conscious; but ladies seem to be more efficient than men. At Osian, there are very few sculptures which show application of cosmetics as in the mediaeval temples of Khajuraho and Bhubaneswar, and in the paintings of Ajanta. We have observed a few scenes here, where the ladies are shown applying *bindī* (vermilion mark), vermilion, collyrium or colouring to the soles of their feet. There is no scene depicting men applying cosmetics. The details of different articles of personal dressing and the application of cosmetics which were customary in the period represented by our sculptures are discussed hereafter.

Forehead Decoration

In ancient times, both men and women used to put various marks for the decoration of their foreheads. They had a special significance for a Hindu lady. They signified married life. Their absence

indicated widowhood. At Osian, there are only three sculptures in which a lady is noticed applying the *bindī* (vermilion mark). In one case she is looking into a mirror held by her right hand, while her left hand carries a stick (*śalākā*) as if she is going to put on a mark on her forehead (Pl. IV, Fig. 3).[56] In the second case a lady is sitting and holding a mirror in her left hand. She seems to be putting on a *bindī* with the middle finger of her right hand. She is intently looking into the mirror.[57] In the third case, a lady is holding a mirror in her right hand. She has a *śalākā* in her left hand and is poised for making a vermilion mark on her forehead (Pl. IV, Fig. 3; Photograph 11).[58]

Using Vermilion

Vermilion is only used by married women. It is a special sign of wedded bliss. At Osian we notice only three sculptures where the ladies are seen engaged in the application of vermilion in the middle of their hair partings. In one case, a lady is holding a mirror in her left hand and looking into it. Her right hand is placed at the centre of her hair, as if she is applying *sindūra* at her hair-parting.[59] In another case, we notice a lady who is shown putting on vermilion at her parting with the help of a mirror which is held in her left hand. An attendant is standing down below on her right side probably holding a pot containing the *sindūra*.[60] In the third case, the right ring finger of a lady is seen in the middle of her hair-parting; but her left hand is broken. It might have had a mirror because her posture shows that she is putting on vermilion on her head.[61]

Application of Collyrium

Our sculptures indicate the application of collyrium by the ladies in their eyes. In the Jaina temple, we notice a lady holding a mirror in her left hand and in her right hand a *śalākā* with which she is applying collyrium to her eye. Two female attendants, one on either side of the lady, are standing. One of them has an indistinct object in her hands, probably a collyrium pot. The other one is standing without any object in her hands (Photograph 12).[62]

Staining the Lips

Women in ancient India were also fond of colouring their lips like modern ladies. In the age of Kālidāsa, they "applied lac-dye (*ālaktaka*) to their lips and then besmeared over them a kind of powder called lodhra-dust prepared from the lodhra wood which turned them yellowish red. The lip-dye was like a wax-solvent to protect the lips from the effect of the winter cold."[63] There is only one sculpture portraying the staining of the lips found in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. A lady is shown holding a mirror in her left hand, while the right hand rests on her lips, as if she is applying the pigment to them with the help of the mirror.[64]

Colouring of Soles

During the ancient and mediaeval periods, colouring of soles was in vogue. Usually the dancing girls applied the coloured and 'perfumed pastets o their soles, palms and fingers in order to look more beautiful to the audience. Other ladies also dyed their soles with the same paste. Kālidāsa refers to women, "who dyed their feet with lac and the red-dye which applied to the sole of their feet reddened the flights of steps as they walked down to the edge of water in tanks".[65]

There are several scenes at Osian in which the ladies are seen engaged in colouring their soles. Some of them are noted here. In the Sūrya temple, a lady is seated on a pedestal or a *morhā*. Her right foot is resting on the ground, while the left is stretched straight. A toilet attendant is standing in front of her, who has caught hold of her stretched leg, as if he is applying lac-dye (*ālaktaka*) with his right hand.[66] In another sculpture, a lady is standing on her left leg. The right leg is bent at the knee. She seems to be

dyeing her sole with her right hand. Down below the turned leg, an attendant is standing and he is holding some indistinct object in his hands and looking at her.[67] A somewhat similar sculpture has been found in the Jaina temple with the difference that here two attendants, one on each side of the lady, are noticed probably helping the lady in her task.[68] Again we notice a lady standing on her right foot. The sole of her left foot is turned towards a toilet attendant who is seated down below on her right side. He has caught hold of her left foot with his left hand and probably has a stick or brush in his right hand for colouring the sole. One more attendant is standing in front of the previous one carrying an indistinct object in his hands. It may be a pot containing the dye.[69] These suggest that toilet attendants usually assisted their mistresses in the application of the dye to their soles.

Fashionable ladies of Osian also carried vanity bags like their modern counterparts (Pl. XXIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3).

Personal Hygiene

People paid due attention to personal hygiene also and must have taken the customary daily bath. There are three scenes in our sculptures which show ladies who have just performed their ablutions (Photograph 10).[70] Rājaśekhara calls them as *sadyasanātā*.[71]

Mirrors

The sculptures mentioned above show that the mirror was an important article of *prasādhanakalā* as even today. It was used by people for various toilet purposes, such as forehead-decoration, applying vermilion, colouring the lips and applying collyrium. The mirror was also very useful for setting the ornaments on the forehead, ears and neck. In Harihara temple No. I, goddess Durgā is seen adjusting her *bendā* with the help of a mirror held in one of her hands.[72] Likewise we notice a lady in the Sūrya temple also setting her *bendā* with the help of a mirror held by an attendant standing in front of her.[73]

Mirrors were also used for appreciating one's beauty. In the Jaina temple, we have the figure of an *apsarā* holding a mirror in her left hand and attentively looking into it.[74] A similar sculpture also occurs in the Sachiyā Mātā temple.[75]

Toilet Attendants

Our Sanskrit literature often refers to male (*prasādhakaḥ*) and female (*prasādhikaḥ*) beautifiers. We notice them in our sculptures also assisting their mistresses at their toilet. They are seen, as mentioned above, holding mirrors or objects of toilet in their hands as also engaged in applying dye to the soles of the women.

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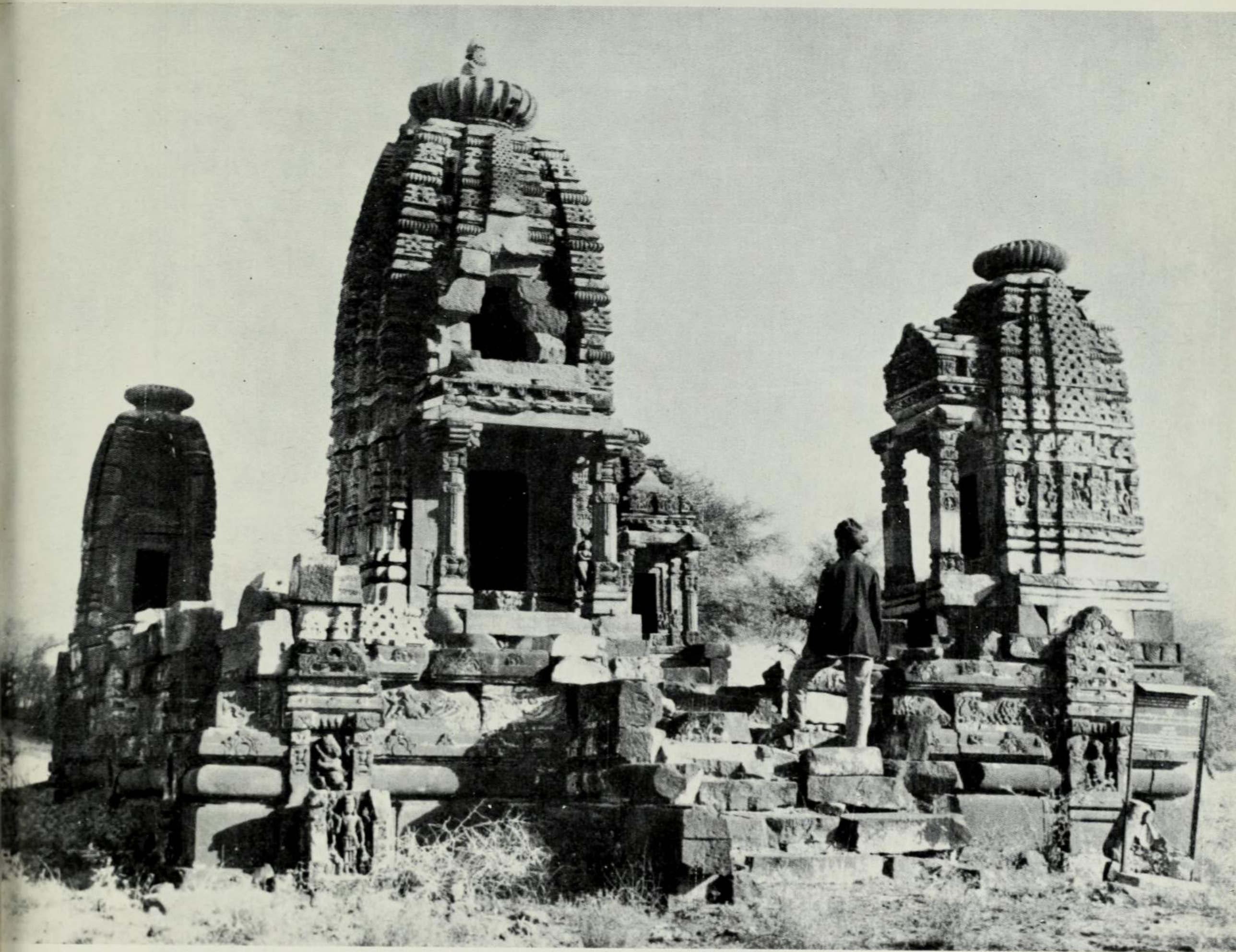
35. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
36. Arya, Vijaya Bhushan, *Koṇāraka Ke Devālaya*, Pl. LIX, Figs. 60-61 (Thesis).
37. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho*, p. 50, Pl. XII, Fig. 20.
38. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
39. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
40. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
41. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
42. Ibid., No. I, N.E. Shrine, Inside.
43. Ibid., No. I, Sanc, Inside.
44. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
45. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
46. For details see Chapter XV.
47. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
48. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
49. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
50. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
51. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
52. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
53. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
54. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
55. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
56. J.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
57. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
58. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
59. H.H.T. No. I, Aṅta, fz, E. Wall.
60. J.T., Closed Hall, inside, E. Wall.
61. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
62. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
63. Upadhyaya, B.S., *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 207.
64. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Door-jamb.
65. Upadhyaya, B.S., op. cit., p. 207.
66. Sūrya Temple, Aṅta, fz, S. Wall.
67. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
68. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
69. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
70. H.H.T. No. I, Aṅta Pillar; S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall; J.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
71. Rājaśekhara, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 236.
72. H.H.T. No. I, S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
73. Sūrya Temple, Door-jamb.
74. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
75. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.

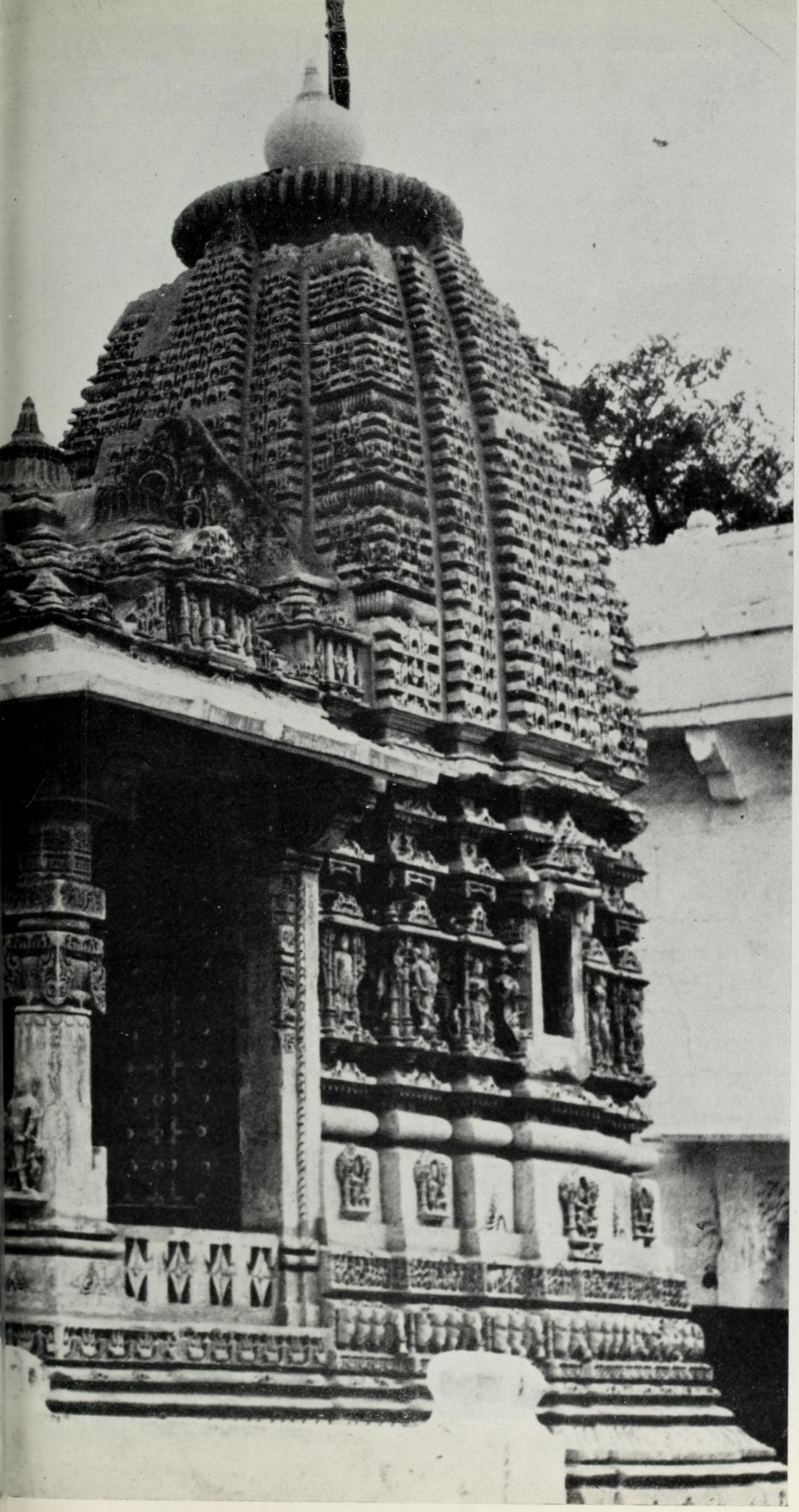


1. Harihara Temple No. I.

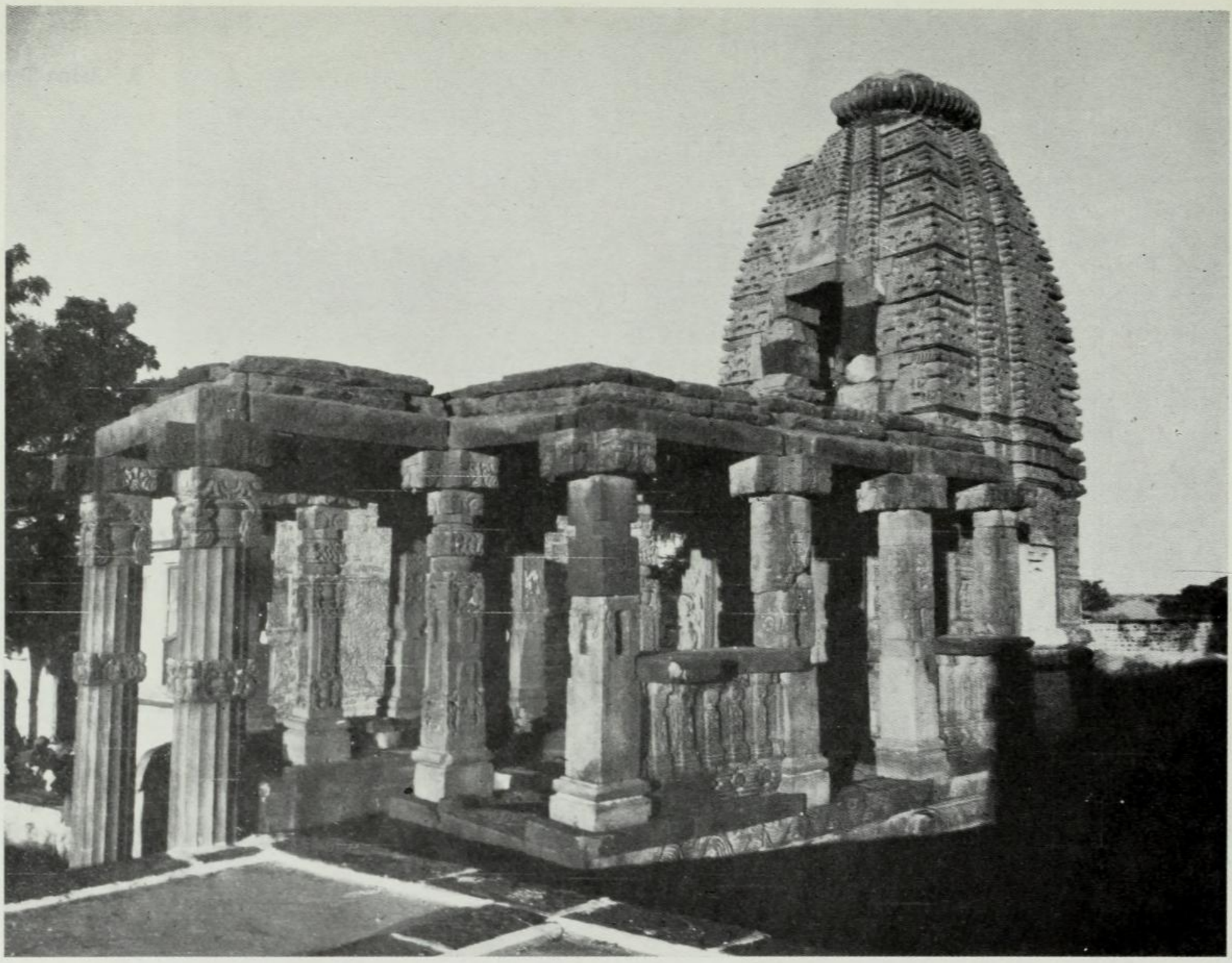
2. Harihara Temple No. III.

4. Door-Frame, Jaina Temple.

5. Toraṇa Pillar, Jaina Temple.



3. Jaina Temple.



6. Sūrya Temple.

7. Piplā Devī Temple.

8. Viṣṇu Temple No. III.

9. Lady playing with a small child, Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

10. Sadyasanātā, Harihara Temple No. I.

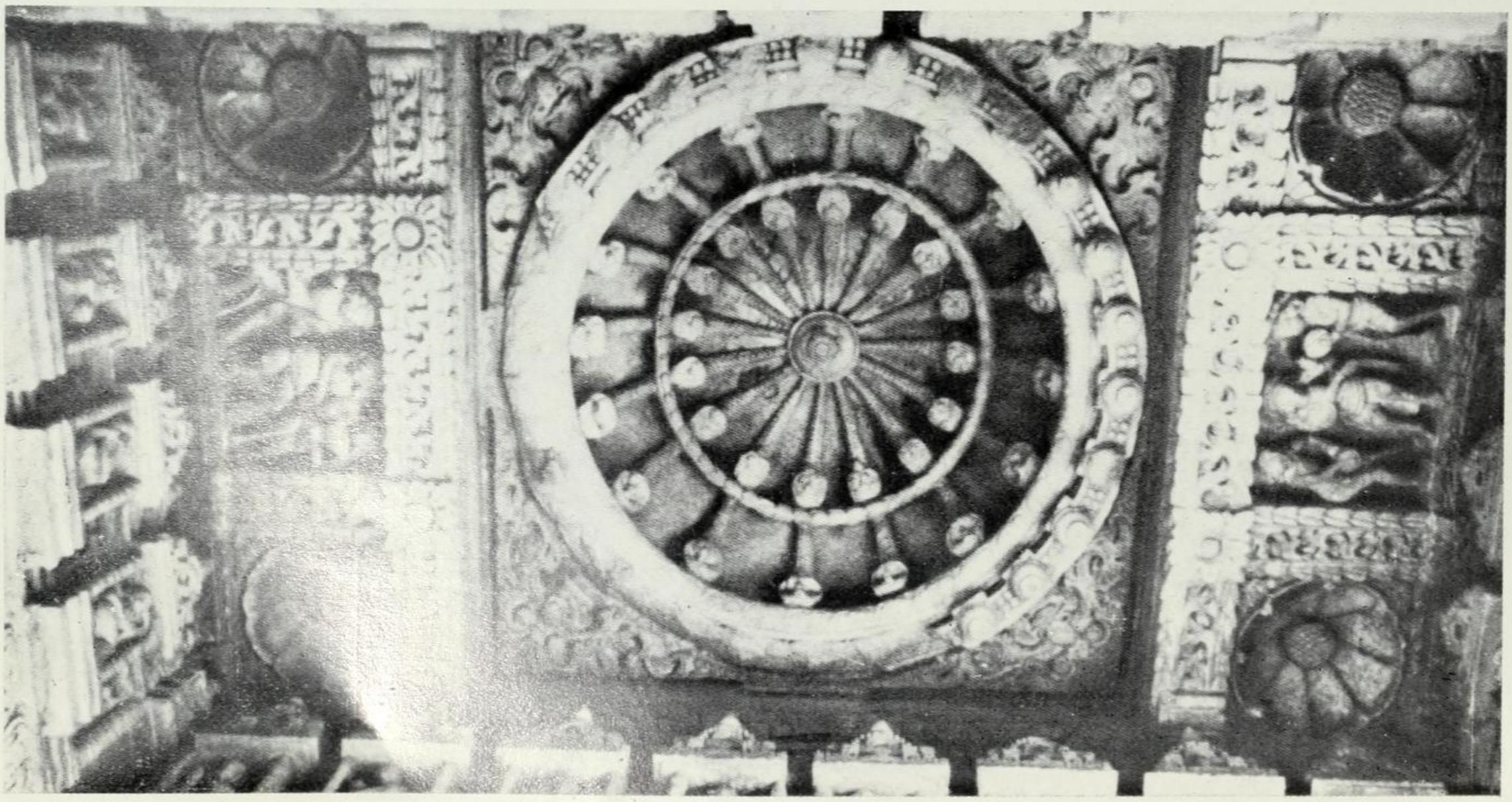
11. Lady putting on vermilion mark, Jaina Temple.

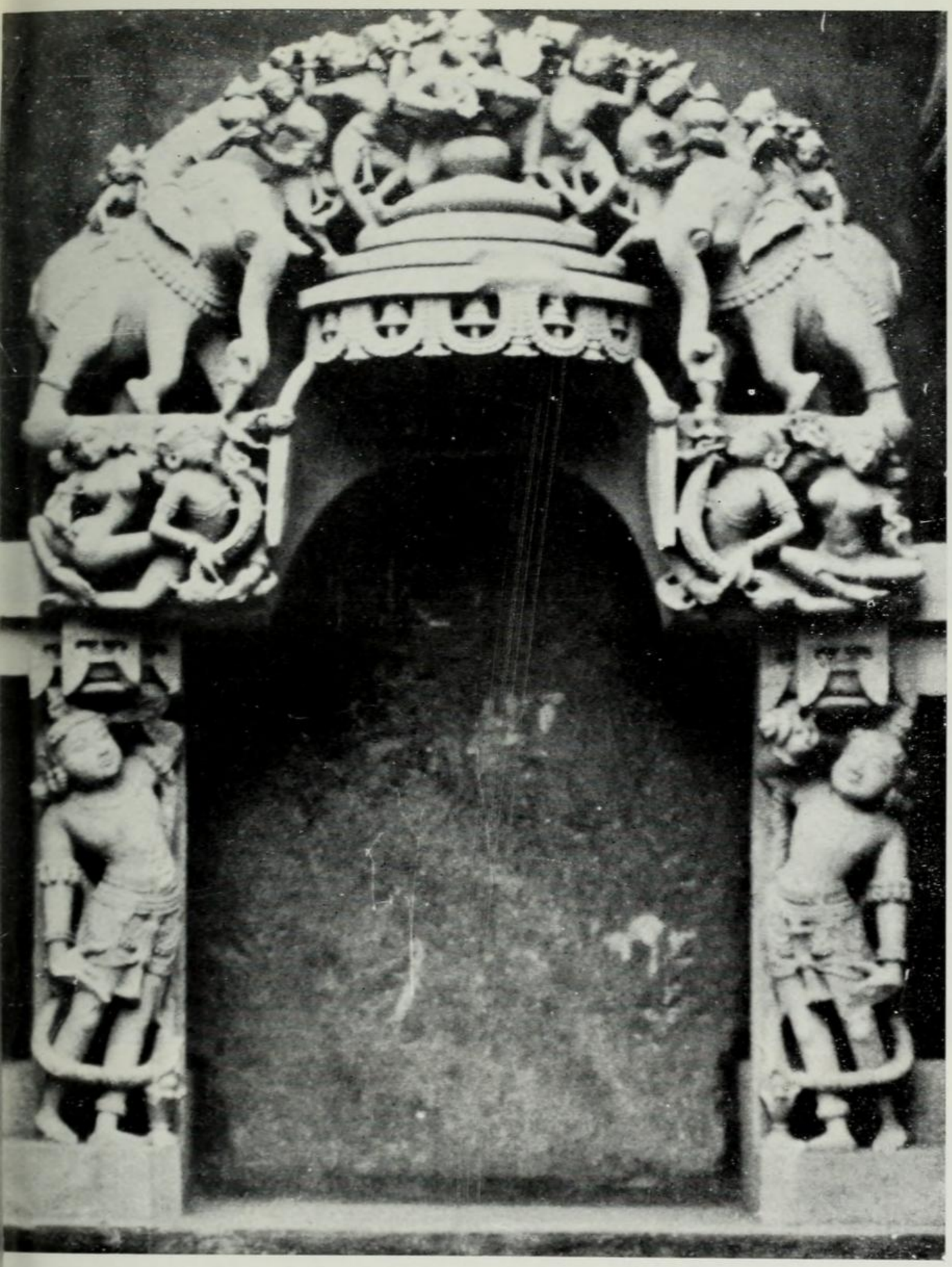
←12. Lady using collyrium, Jaina Temple.

13. Animal-Combat, Jaina Temple.

14. Lady playing a ball with a small child, Jaina Temple.

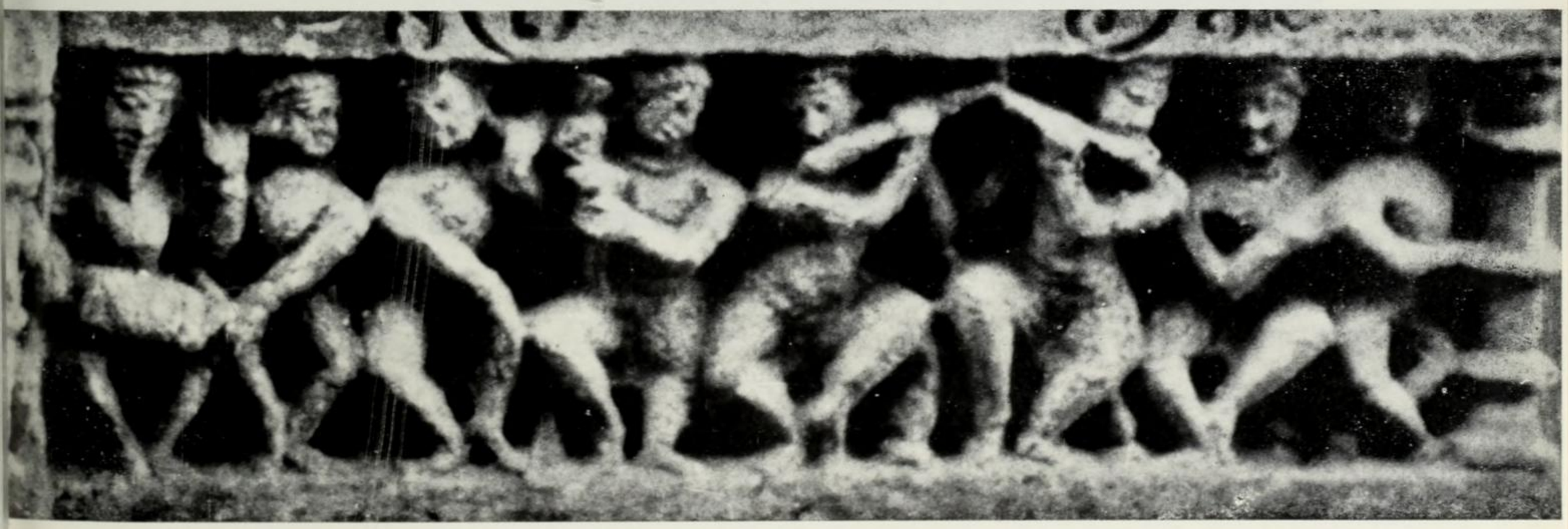
15. Ceiling, Music and Dancing Scene, Harihara Temple No. III.

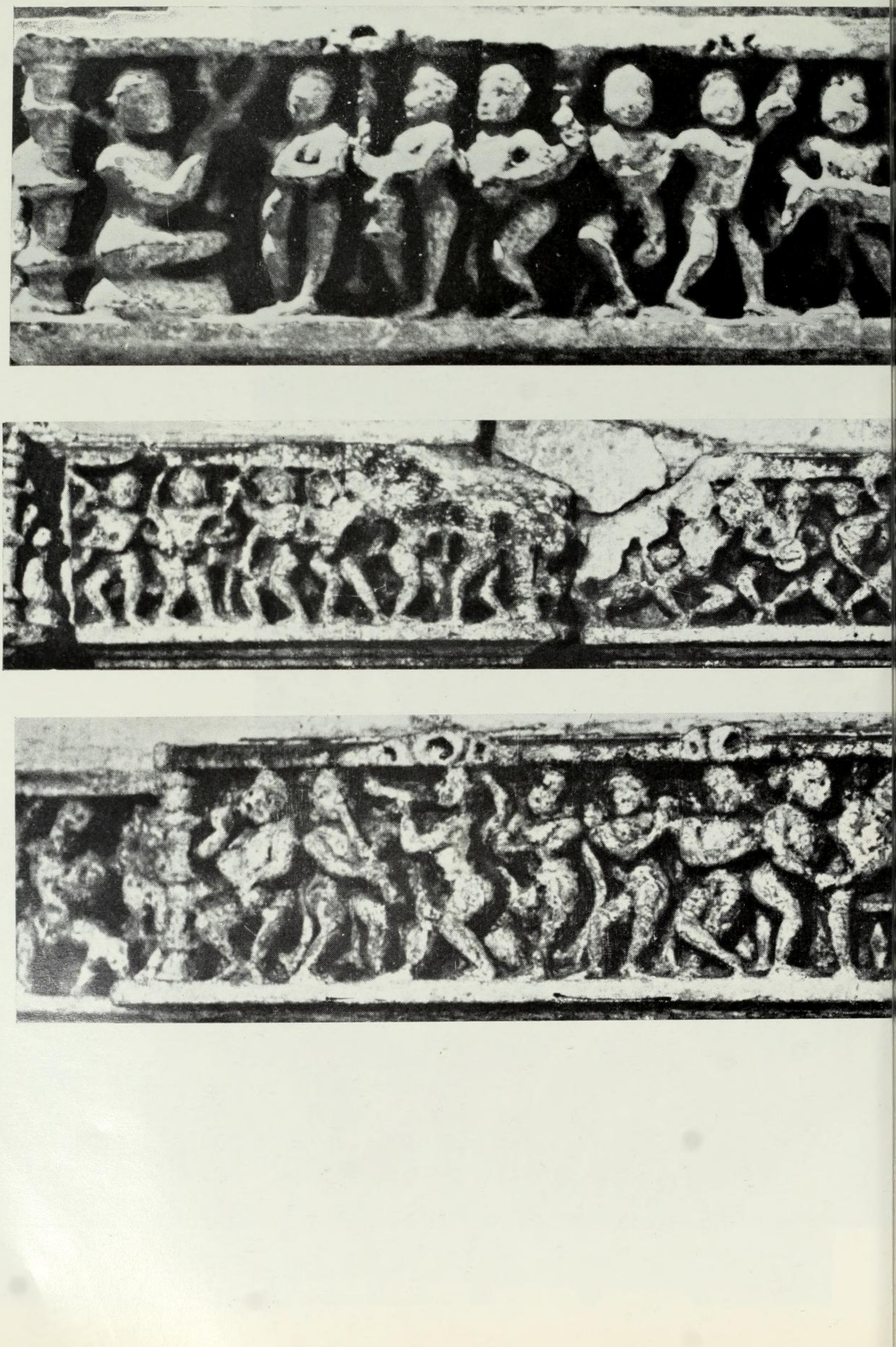


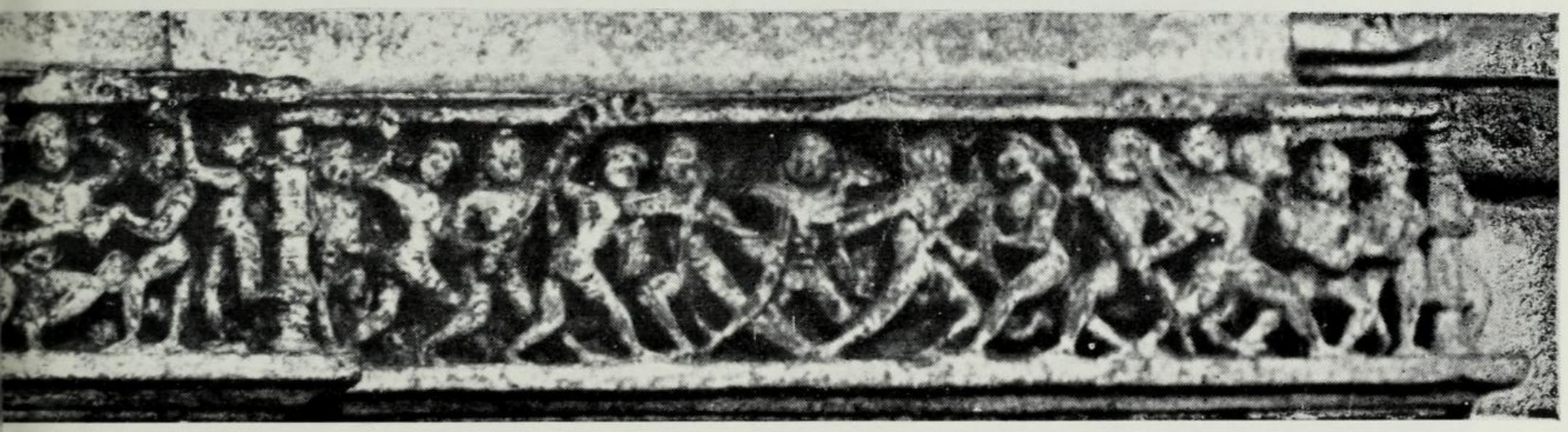


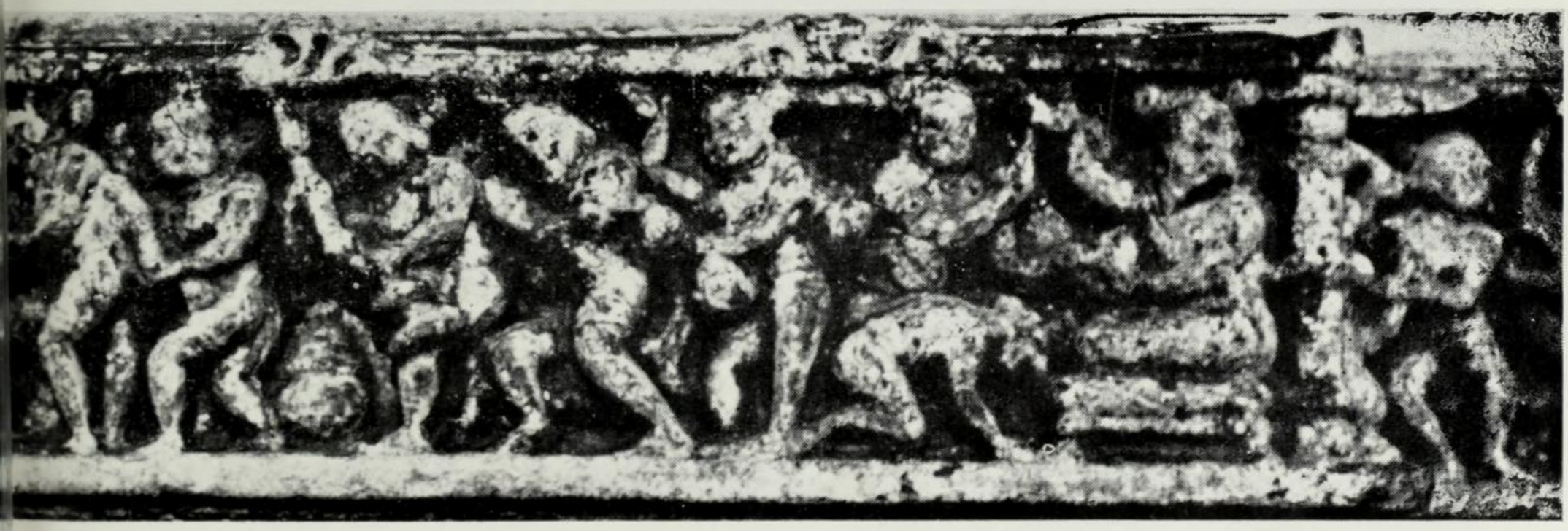
17. Dancing Scene, Jaina Temple.

18. Dancing Scene, Jaina Temple.





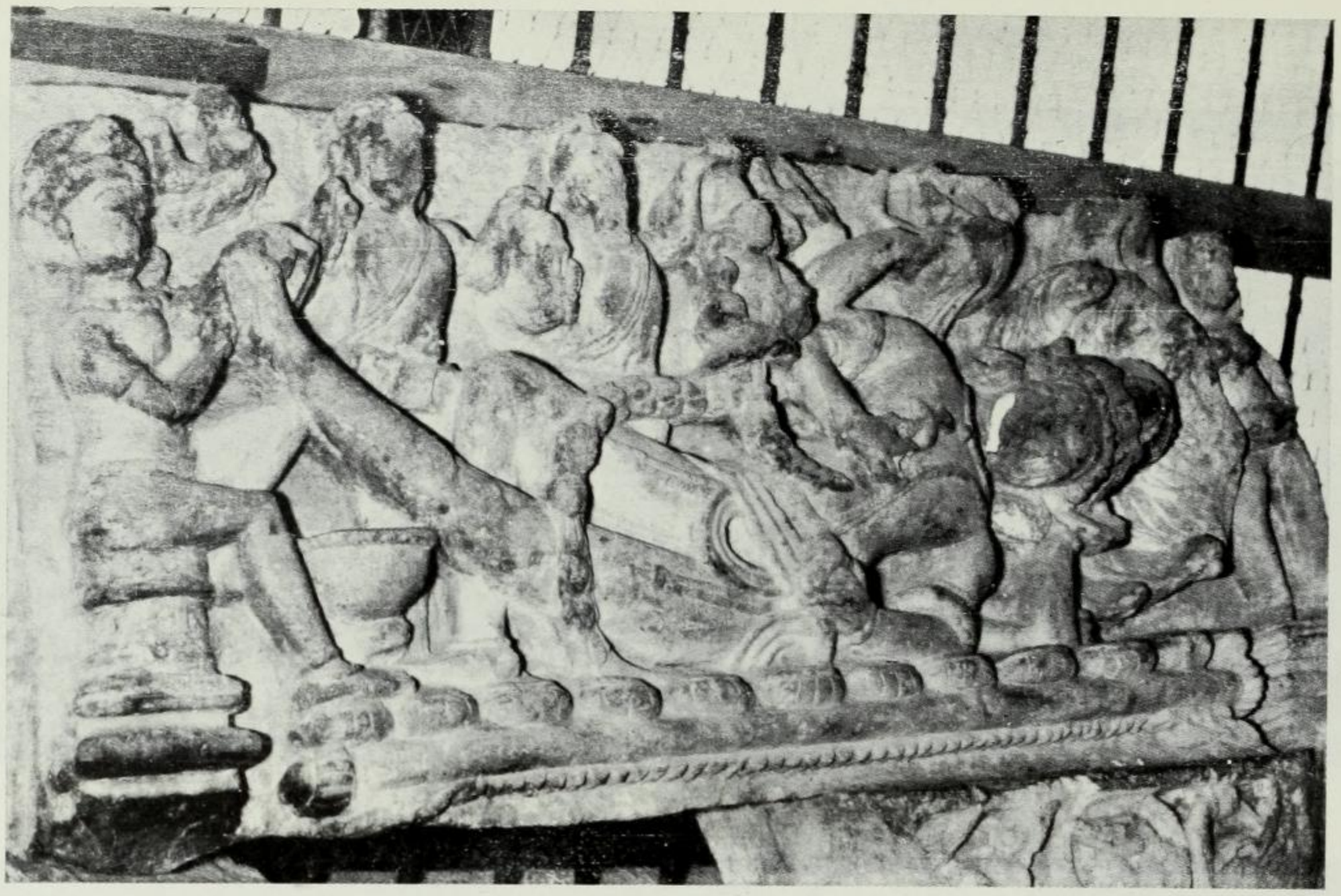




20. *Pūjā* Panel, Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

16. Dancing Scene, Sachiyā Mātā Temple. (Top)

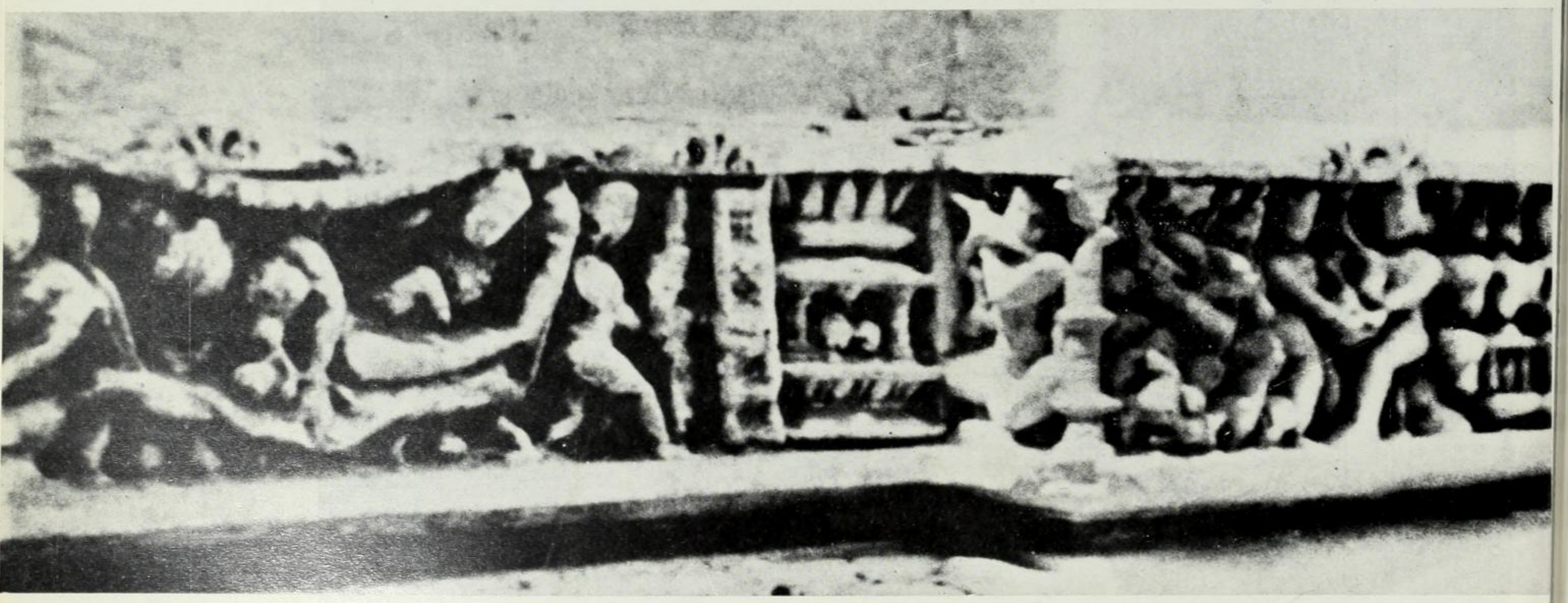
19. Dancing and War Scenes, Sachiyā Mātā Temple. (Middle)



21. Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu,
Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

22. Viṣṇu (Varāhāvatāra),
Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

23. Viṣṇu (Nṛsiṁhāvatāra), Sachiyā Mātā Temple.



25. Birth Scene of Kṛṣṇa, Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

24. Viṣṇu (Kūrmāvatāra), Sachiya Mātā Temple. (Top)

26. Vaṭsāsura-vadha, Harihara Temple No. III.

27. Kāliyadamana, Harihara Temple No. I.

28. Kubalayāpīḍa-vadha, Harihara Temple No. III.

29. Laksmī-Nārāyana,
Sachiyā
Mātā Temple.

30. Balarāma-Revatī, Harihara Temple No. I.

31. Balarāma, Śūrya Temple.

32. Mukha-liṅga of Śiva,
Śiva Temple No. II.

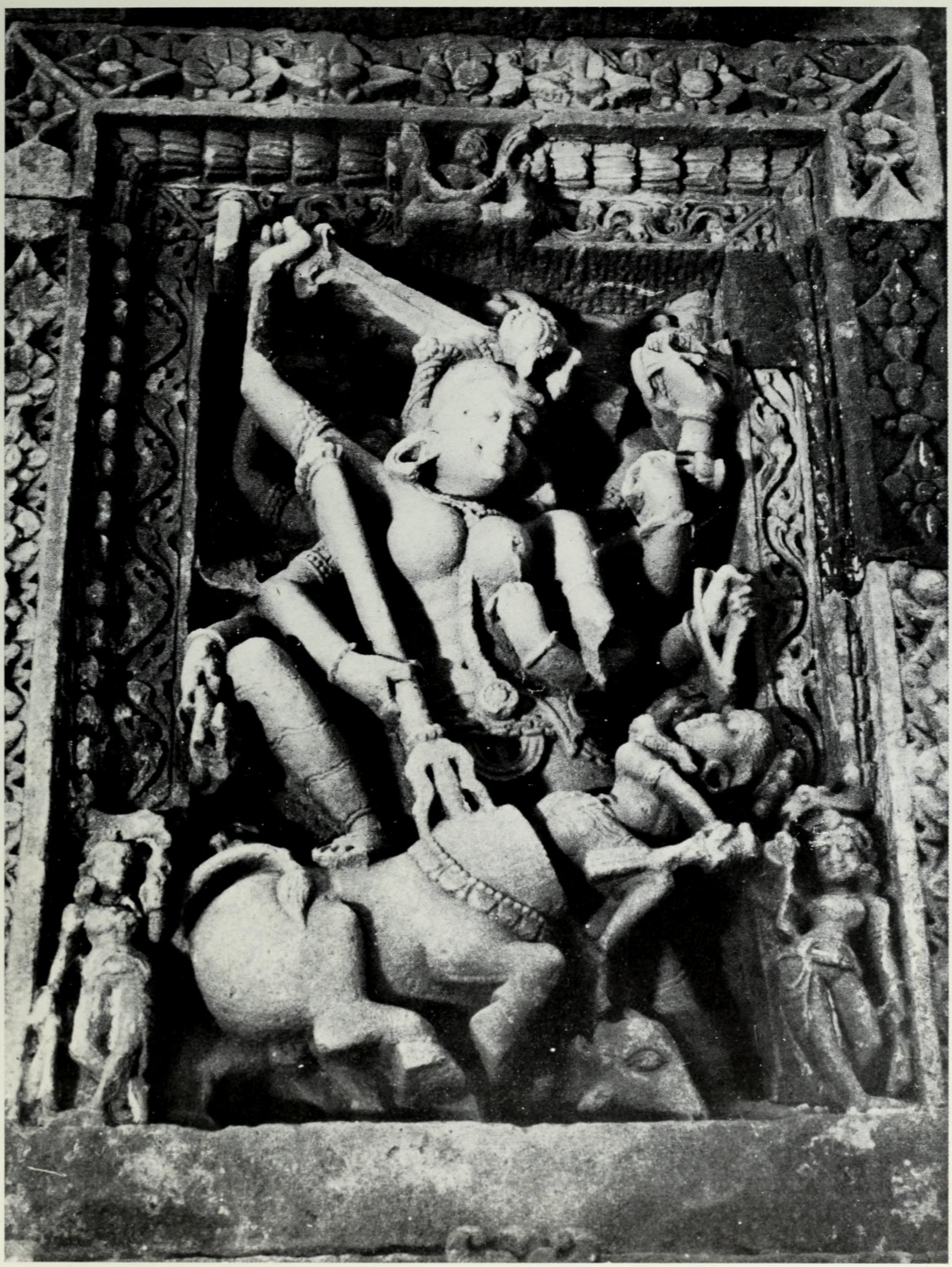
33. Nṛtya-mūrti of Śiva,
Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

35. Gaṇeśa,
Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

34. Āliṅgana-mūrti of Śiva and Pārvatī, Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

36. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, four-handed, Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

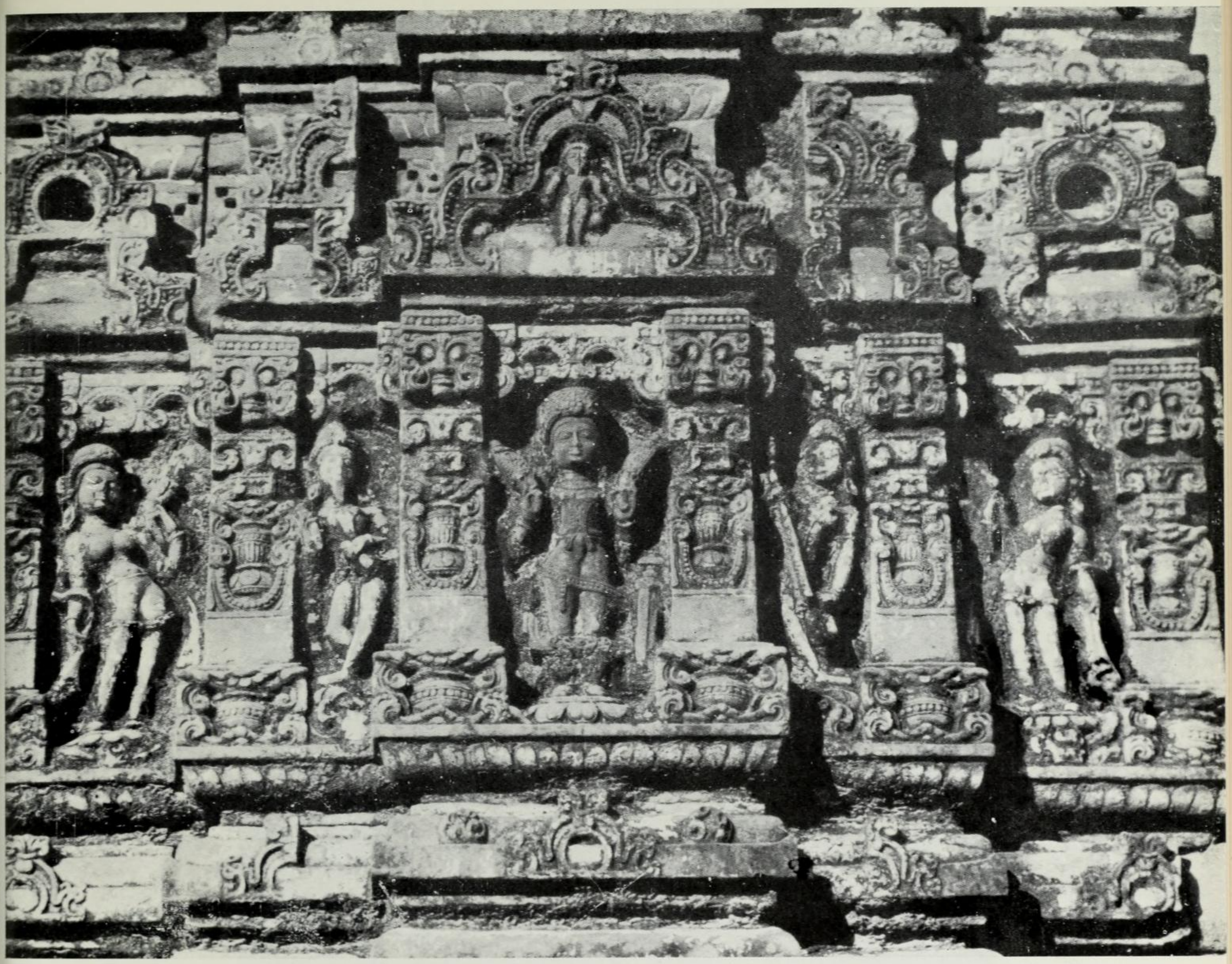
38. Sūrya, Harihara Temple No. III.



37. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, twelve-handed, Sūrya Temple.

39. Hari Hara-Hiranyagarbha, Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

40. Sūrya, Harihara Temple No. I.



41. Harihara, Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

42. Dhātrī-Sūrya, Sachiyā Mātā Temple.

43. Pārśvanātha, Jaina Temple.

44. Marriage Scene of Neminātha, Jaina Temple.

46. Teacher and Disciples Scene, Jaina Temple.

45. Yakṣiṇī Chakreśvarī, four-handed, standing, Jaina Temple.

6

AMUSEMENTS AND PASTIMES

THE mode and manner in which people of Osian passed their leisure time are also depicted on Osian sculptures. In these sculptures men and women are seen engaged in different types of games and amusements including animal-combats, man-animal combats, wrestling, ball games, keeping pets and music and dancing, etc., etc.

Animal-Combat

Animal-combat appears to be one of the most favourite means of amusement in the period under study. It satisfied the crude and primitive instincts of man. In mediaeval times animal-combats became quite popular under the martial race of the Rajputs.[1] There are a few scenes of animal-combats which depict combats between an elephant and a lion, while some other scenes depict a combat between two elephants. In a scene which we notice in Harihara temple No. II, an elephant and a lion are shown fighting with each other. The long proboscis of the elephant is turned inwards and one of his tusks has pierced the front left leg of the lion. The lion is also attacking the elephant vigorously with its sharp and strong front claws, which rest on the head of the elephant. Each of them is trying to overpower the other.[2] A somewhat similar scene is also noticed in Harihara temple No. I.[3] In the Jaina temple, two elephants are fighting with each other. Their trunks are twisted and they are trying to throw down each other. Two persons are mounted on the back of each elephant. One of them, holding a goad, is the mahout. A third elephant is also noticed in the scene. Its trunk is turned inwards and its body is pressed downwards almost touching the ground (Photograph 13).[4] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, two elephants are shown standing in front of each other. One of them has raised its proboscis and placed it on the head of the other. Its front legs are somewhat raised as if it is going to attack the other. The second one has hung its proboscis straight to the ground.[5]

Man-Animal Combat

There are other scenes which depict man-animal combats. Even God Kṛṣṇa is represented in our sculptures as engaged in combats with several animals, such as an elephant, an ass, a bull, a horse and a snake, Kāliya. These scenes suggest the prevalence of such combats in ancient India. In Kubalayāpīḍa scene, Kṛṣṇa is shown engaged in fighting with a furious elephant. He has caught hold of its strong tusks with his left hand. The elephant has also clasped his left leg with its long proboscis. Two persons, standing behind the elephant, are aiming blows at it with their upraised right arms. A third person is standing behind Kṛṣṇa also aiming a blow at the elephant (Photograph 28).[6] There are other scenes also which depict similar combats between man and animal. In the Jaina temple, one of the pillars of the *nāḷ-maṇḍapa* contains an interesting scene of a man-elephant fight. The man and the elephant are standing in front of each other. The man is aiming a blow at the elephant with his upraised right arm, which is partly broken. The fury of the elephant is suggested by its open mouth and the long proboscis turned inwards. Its front two legs are upraised, as if it is going to attack the man.[7] There are similar other scenes in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. In one of them the elephant has thrown its proboscis around the waist of the man, who has caught hold of its right tusk with his left hand. The furious elephant is trying to knock him down to the ground.[8] Another scene similar to the above is depicted in the same temple. In this case, however, the mahout is seated on the back of the elephant holding a long spear.[9] The *Mānasollāsa*[10] refers to the man-animal combat and calls it *gajavāhyalivinōda*.

Wrestling

Wrestling was also one of the means of entertainment and physical exercise for men as it is even today. There are certain scenes which throw light on this aspect of life. We notice it in one of the panels of Kṛṣṇa-līlā where Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are depicted as engaged in wrestling bouts with the wrestlers of Kaṁsa, Chāṇura and Muṣṭaka. There are other fine panels which depict this scene in slightly different forms wherein Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma have grasped the two wrestlers with their arms and legs and are trying to throw them on the ground.[11] Again we notice in the Jaina temple two persons engaged in wrestling. Each is trying to throw down the other. Both of them are displaying their strength and are trying to gain mastery. They are standing in front of each other. One of them has raised his right hand and has caught hold of the wrist of the other with his left hand. From his posture it appears as if he is going to hit him with the right hand. Similarly, the second one has also raised his left hand and is trying to catch the upraised hand of the former. He has placed his left leg over the right leg of the former. A third person is standing near them and has an indistinct object in his hands; probably he is trying to stop the fight. Unfortunately, his face is broken.[12] It appears from these scenes that wrestling must have been commonly practised by the people in the period under study.

Ball Games

The ball game has also been a favourite means of pastime in ancient India, especially among the ladies. This fact is borne out by our sculptures also. Some of them depict ladies engaged in playing ball with small children. We find them holding a ball in one of their hands. In the Jaina temple, a lady is standing, her back towards the visitors. She has a ball in her right hand which is raised up to her head, as if she is going to throw it. Her left hand is holding a corner of her *dupaṭṭā* from gliding down. Down below a small child is standing on her right side, as if she is playing with it. From the posture of the child it appears that it is ready for catching the ball from the lady.[13] In another scene, a lady is standing slightly bent on the left side. A small child is standing below on her left side holding a ball with both its upraised hands, as if it is trying to give the ball to the lady (Photograph 14).[14] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, we notice two scenes of ball games. In one case a lady is shown standing in a bent position. She holds a ball in her right hand raising it up to her head.[15] In the second case, a lady

is shown holding a ball in her right hand, as if she is going to throw it. In this scene we notice another ball near her *dupaṭṭā* on her left side.[16] In ancient times this game was known *kanduka-krīḍā* and is frequently referred to in our literature.[17]

Keeping Pets

Osian sculptures also reveal that people were very fond of keeping pets, both birds and animals. In most cases, we notice fondness for monkeys. Other pets noticed in our sculptures are the parrot, the goose and the peacock. They passed their free time by playing with their pets. In the Jaina temple, a lady is standing on a pedestal. Her left leg is bent at her knee. A small monkey is trying to climb up. From the posture of her right hand, it seems that she is directing it to get down.[18] In another scene one couple is standing and a monkey is seated on a pedestal near the lady. It has caught hold of her left leg with its mouth and she is fondling it. The man and the woman are looking fondly at the monkey.[19]

The ladies also maintained tame birds. In Jaina temple we notice a lady standing on a pedestal with a small bird, probably a parrot, perched on her left forearm and she holds a bunch of fruits in her right hand raised to the level of her shoulder. A small boy is standing down below and has stretched his hands towards the lady, evidently making a bid for the fruits.[20] In another scene a standing lady rinses her wet hair with her hands. A small bird, perhaps a goose or a swan, is seated on a high seat on her left side and seems to be drinking the water falling from the tresses of her hair. A female attendant, standing on her right side, is holding an indistinct object with her hands.[21] A somewhat similar scene is depicted in the Sachiyā Mātā temple also. The bird here is standing on the floor and the female attendant is missing. Here also the bird is trying to drink the drops of water falling from her tresses.[22]

Music and Dance

Osian temples contain sculptures depicting a variety of musical instruments and dance scenes. They are an expression of the gay society which raised these temples as its humble homage to the gods. These sculptures again exhibit the innate aesthetic sense of the people of the contemporary period, and it is this aesthetic sense that has lent a vivid expression not only to the sculpture and architecture of the Osian temples, but also to the various scenes depicting music and dancing.

The different types of musical instruments found on the inner and outer walls of these temples can be classified into four categories, namely, (i) percussion (*ānaddha*) instruments like drums, *mṛdaṅgas*, *ḍholakas*, *tablās* and *ḍamarus*; (ii) pneumatic (*suṣira*) instruments in which category fall *śahnāī*, flute and *śaṅkha*; (iii) vibratory (*tatam*) instruments in which class fall the lute and the *vīṇā* which figures most prominently; and (iv) the resonatory (*ghana*)[23] instruments—into which class fall the gong, cymbals and ringing bells.

Percussion Instruments

Among the percussion instruments, we notice various types of drums varying from long barrel-shaped *mṛdaṅgas* to *tablās*, and the smallest of them all, the *ḍamaru*. In the Indian musical system, the drum occupies an important place. It forms the chief instrument of an orchestra, to which all other instruments must be tuned. Compared to the Khajuraho[24] sculptures, where we find only *mṛdaṅgas* and *ḍholas*, the Osian specimens are numerous and varied in addition to the *ḍhola* and *mṛdaṅga*. We also come across a pair of *tablās*. A man attendant is seen playing on the *tablās* in a niche where God Śiva is shown performing his famous dance (Photograph 33).[25] Another specimen of it is found in Harihara temple No. I where a pair of *tablās* are being played to the accompaniment of the dance performed by god Gaṇeśa.[26]

There is only one representation of a man playing on the *ḍamaru* in a musical concert (Pl. XIX,

Fig. 8).[27] A goddess is seen with the *ḍamaru*, but it is tied with a string to her *khaṭvāṅga*.[28] Traditionally this instrument is associated with God Śiva and is considered sacred in Hindu religion.

Mṛdaṅga and *ḍhola* are not very different from each other in general appearance, except that the former has a bulge all round in the middle, while the latter is almost cylindrical. The *mṛdaṅgas* are long-barrelled and truncated on both the faces which are covered with parchments. The parchments are always tightened by leather thongs which look like a network (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1).[29] They are made to overlap one another (Pl. XIX, Fig. 2).[30] In the *ḍholas* or barrel-drums found in our sculptures some of them have the thongs going horizontally (Pl. XIX, Figs. 7 & 9),[31] and in others they go in a slanting manner (Pl. XIX, Figs. 3 & 5),[32] and there is a small ridge in the middle through which the thongs pass (Pl. XIX, Figs. 6 & 7).[33] Almost invariably the *ḍholaka* and the *mṛdaṅga* accompany a dancer, occasionally along with other instruments. There are also some sculptures of smaller *ḍholakas* (Pl. XIX, Fig. 3) or drums played by musicians in dancing activities. The musicians hang it around their necks and beat the covering skin with the palm of their hands. There is one *ḍholaka* peculiar in appearance. There appear to be a number of beads interspersed in between the strings probably to enhance the beauty of the *ḍholaka* (Pl. XIX, Fig. 4).[34]

In the Osian temples these percussion instruments are almost invariably represented as being played by menfolk and not by women.

It may be remembered that *mṛdaṅgas* and *ḍholakas* are associated with temple rituals and worships and as such they have a significance of their own. Though in this group of temples the instruments do not seem to be directly associated with the worship of the deity, yet the depiction of these instruments together with the dancing parties sculptured on the temple walls is a proof of the fact that dancing itself was a part of the temple ritual and a mode of offering worship to the deity.

Pneumatic Instruments

Amongst the pneumatic instruments sculptured at Osian are the flute and *śahnāī*, besides the *śaṅkha*. The former is one of the most ancient musical instruments of India and has pastoral associations. It is made of dry bamboo or *kīchaka* and is played by holding it horizontally and by blowing it with the mouth through an opening near the head, and down one side it has six or seven holes worked by fingers and is supported by the thumb on the underside. Flutes are played by holding them horizontally, whereas the *śahnāī* is held in two different ways—vertically and horizontally. Two flute players are playing on their instruments. These are held in juxtaposition, one pointing it to the right and his companion holding it towards the left, the tip of the two almost touching each other. They appear to be absorbed in their music (Photograph 18).[35] Another kind of flute noticed, shows a pipe which is blown not through the tip opening, but through a hole on the side, the instrument being held somewhat horizontally, parallel to the shoulder.[36]

As has been pointed out, the flute is an ancient instrument of music with pastoral associations. It is associated with Lord Kṛṣṇa the most delicately conceived deity of Hindu religion. He is said to have charmed human beings and animals alike by his sweet melody. It is believed that *gopīs* and *gvālās* danced to the tune of his flute, while the herd went on watching their pastoral frolics. Even today in the countryside, herdsmen can be seen going to the pasture with their herds carrying a flute in their hands. In ancient literature, we come across numerous descriptions of the flute and its charming music. Kālidāsa refers to an Aeolian flute in the *Raghuvaṁśa* where "Dilīpa heard the sylvan deities intone his fame, from within the bowers at a high pitch, to the warbling accompaniment of the Aeolian flutes (when he entered the forest)."[37]

The flute appears to be a favourite instrument of the people. There is not a single dancing party in which there is not one flute-player at least. In one case a man is playing the flute while a woman is listening to it with rapt attention. They seem to be Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Both are represented amidst the coils of serpents depicted on the ceiling of the Sachiyā Mātā temple;[38] and then in Harihara temple No. I, a man is represented as sitting alone and playing a flute completely absorbed in its melody.[39] We can see

another example of flute-players on the exterior of the subsidiary shrine of the Jaina temple. Two flute-players are standing facing each other. They are playing a flute held in their hands and blown with their mouths.[40] On the exterior of the sanctum in the Sūrya temple, a flute-player is visible who is blowing a flute with his mouth. He has kept it in his hands as usual, the middle portion of the flute is in the left hand, while the lower end is in the right hand. He seems to be a 'gandharva'.[41]

The other wind-instrument depicted in the sculptures is the *śahnāī*. It is represented as a pipe which is narrow at the top and widens as it extends along. The instrument was contemplated to be good for an orchestra and was played as an accompaniment to dancers. Though the *śahnāī* is associated both with temple music and military bands, it is noticed at Osian only in association with dance parties (Pl. XIX, Figs. 12, 15).[42]

In the Jaina temple there are some sculptures depicting horn-shaped trumpets which were used purely for military purposes; but in these temples they were being used as part of orchestra music in dance items (Pl. XIX, Fig. 16;[43] Photographs 16, 19 and 20).

The third kind of pneumatic instrument found in Osian temples is the *śaṅkha* or conch-shell. It is sounded by blowing into it with the mouth. It is generally used on the occasion of religious ceremonies and is also used at the end of religious rituals at the temples. The instrument is considered sacred in Hindu religion, as it is an *āyudha* of God Viṣṇu. In our sculptures, Viṣṇu is always depicted with a *śaṅkha*[44] in one of his hands. The *śaṅkha* is also noticed along with other instruments like the *ḍholaka* in scenes depicting religious rituals.[45] At Osian we notice it with the dance parties as well.[46] The presence of these two instruments goes to show that the dance scenes depicted on the walls of Osian temples are the scenes of sacred dances in the temples and not secular ones.

Vibratory Instruments

Of the stringed instruments found in our temples, the *vīṇā* occupies a prominent place. This instrument is associated with Indian gods and has an ancient origin and has formed part of Indian music since time immemorial. The *vīṇā* is associated with goddess Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of knowledge, that is, *Vidyā*. Amongst the ancient kings of India, Samudragupta is said to have been an expert player on the *vīṇā* (*vīṇāist*), and on his coins he is seen playing it. The image of goddess Sarasvatī with a *vīṇā* in her hands is found in at least three Osian temples.[47] It is also seen amongst the musical instruments in the dancing scene carved in the Jaina temple. There is only one specimen of *vīṇā* in the Sachiyā Mātā temple wherein an *apsarā* is shown playing it.[48] The *vīṇā* is also seen in the hands of men playing it during dances.[49] As against Khajuraho,[50] the *vīṇās* sculptured in Osian temples have only single gourd, and no specimen of a double-gourded *vīṇā* is found here. It is difficult to say anything about the system of frets, the nature of strings, and adjusting pegs on the basis of the sculptural designs, but one notable thing about these instruments is that they are shown having one single string (Pl. XIX, Fig. 13).[51] Among the stringed instruments, we also notice one more instrument, the lute, in our sculptures. It is known as *ekatārā*. There are two scenes in which this small instrument is noticed. In one case a woman is playing it with the middle finger of her right hand (Pl. XIX, Fig. 11)[52] and a man is listening to it attentively. In the second case, a man is playing a somewhat similar type of instrument, while a woman is listening to it (Pl. XIX, Fig. 10).[53]

Resonatory Instruments

Amongst the resonatory instruments, our sculptures depict gongs, cymbals aud ringing bells. The gong is a round and temperately thick disc of metal. It is hung by a rope and struck with a wooden mallet (Pl. XIX, Fig. 16).[54] It is surprising that in the Osian group of temples, the gong, like conch-shells, has not been represented in association with the worship of the deity. There is only one example of it in the Jaina temple wherein a Tīrthaṅkara is shown surrounded by his devotees who are playing different musical instruments including a gong in honour of the deity.[55] Except for this, in other depictions, the gong occurs

in dance parties alone. Similar is the case with the cymbals as well as the smaller variety of it, that is, the *mañjīrā*. There is only one specimen which has been found in our sculptures. The *mañjīrā* consists of two round brass plates or cups held by the player in both of his hands and played by striking the discs against each other. It is invariably found in dance parties. The cymbal is generally seen accompanying a *mṛdaṅga* and *ḍhola* and is one of the instruments of the orchestra accompanying a dancer (Photograph 16).[56]

Another example of a resonatory instrument is to be found in the shape of a bell in several temples.[57] They, too, occur in dance scenes, and, as has been said, the presence of gongs, bells, conch-shells, etc., in the dance scenes goes to show that these dancers were temple dancers and not secular ones.

The variety of musical instruments played by musicians proves that they had studied the science of acoustics, and applied that knowledge to the evolution of all these different varieties of instruments.

The Dance

Dancing is a 'progression of coordinated and rhythmic movements of the body and limbs, usually to the accompaniment of vocal or instrumental music, the beating of drums or clapping of hands'.[58] It has existed in some form or other throughout the world and in every age. In India, too, dancing has been regarded as a *śilpa* and a sister art of music.[59] Moreover, in India the dance has become inseparable from religion; even gods like Śiva and Gaṇeśa are known to have been expert dancers. It was also regarded as a means of pleasing the gods. Dance performances were arranged inside the temple halls. In course of time, girls got themselves attached to temples as servants with the primary duty of dancing before the deities. These girls came to be known as *devadāsīs*.[60] There was hardly any temple in ancient or mediaeval India which did not have several of these dancing girls in its employ. Osian temples, too, must have had their teams of dancing girls and obviously, therefore, they have also found a place in the sculptures that decorate the walls of several of these temples.

In the dancing scenes, the dancer, who usually occupies the central place in the panel, is invariably a woman. She is accompanied by at least two,[61] but in many cases more than two, skilled instrumentalists.[62] The musical instruments played to the accompaniment of the dance include the *vīṇā*, the flute, the *śahnāī*, a pair of cymbals, a small drum, a gong, a conch-shell, a *mṛdaṅga* and *ḍhola*. On the ceiling of Harihara temple No. III, there are two dancing scenes, one presenting a woman dancing in the middle with two men, one on either side of her, playing on cymbals and *ḍholakas* respectively; and in the other, male instrumentalists are playing the *mṛdaṅga* and cymbals (Photograph 15).[63] In both the panels, 'men's heads are dressed in tight, curled, wigs, familiar from Devagarh and Padmāvatī'.[64] There is a scene in the Jaina temple which shows a procession of worshippers going to offer their homage to the Tīrthaṅkara. Many men are seen marching towards a temple playing on different instruments and dancing. In the middle is shown a dancing girl.[65] Among the other dancing scenes, mention may be made of the following.

One scene shows a female dancer in the middle of the panel. Her right hand is bent at the elbow and raised. Three male persons on her right are beating the *ḍholakas* and the cymbals, while the two on her left are also beating the *ḍholaka*. One of them displays a beard.[66]

In another scene on the running friezes of the same wall, we notice six men and two women engaged in playing on musical instruments and dancing. One of them is playing on a small musical instrument, which is not clear; the second man and a woman are dancing together; the third man is playing on a flute. The second woman dancer stands near the third man. She has placed her left hand on the shoulder of the man and the right hand, bent at the elbow, is poised downwards. The other three men are standing to her right side. One of them is blowing the conch-shell and the other two are engaged in beating *ḍholakas*.[67]

A third scene shows one woman and six men engaged in dancing and playing on the usual instruments. The woman is dancing in the middle of the panel. Her right hand is placed on *kaṭi* and the left is bent at the elbow and raised upwards. Of the men, the first two are dancing, the third is striking the cymbals. The fourth man is beating a drum. The other two men are playing on *ḍholaka* and on a conch-shell.[68]

The fourth panel shows four men and one woman. The woman is dancing, while the men are playing on flute, *ḍholakas*, etc.[69] We notice another scene on the running friezes of the Jaina temple in which seven men and one woman are engaged in dancing and playing on instruments. Of the men, the first one is standing and clapping his hands; the second and third carry a big drum with their left hands, while their right hands are placed crosswise on the drum as if they are simultaneously beating on it. The fourth man has a flower garland; the fifth man is beating a small *ḍholaka* which is suspended by a long strap from his neck. A danseuse is standing on his right side. Her right hand is placed on the head of the man who is standing to her right. Her left hand is in the dancing pose. The sixth man stands on her left side holding an indistinct musical instrument.[70]

In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, we find a scene in which fifteen persons, including one woman, are engaged in dancing and playing on different musical instruments. Of these, two men and one woman are busy in dancing. The others are playing the flute, the *śahnāī*, a pair of cymbals, *ḍholakas*, drums, etc. Besides these, one has a flower garland in his hands and probably a flower basket which is hanging from his left wrist. Another man has a bag which is suspended in the *upavīta* manner by a leather strap around his neck. It is seen on his left side. His right hand is upraised and the left one has caught hold of a strap of it. A ṛṣi or *guru* is seated on a low seat in front of him whose right hand is broken and the left is upraised, as if he is blessing him (Photograph 16).[71] One more dancing and music scene is noticed in the same temple in which seven men and one woman are dancing and playing on the *śahnāī*, flute, cymbals and a tabor (Photograph 19).[72]

There are two other standing figurines of female dancers with the right hand in a *gajahasta* pose on the door-jambs of Harihara temple No. I.[73] In the Sūrya temple, the pilasters projecting on both sides of the entrance are elegantly sculptured with the lower halves carved with dancing female figures in a 'natural pose'.[74]

In other scenes, we notice eight male participants dancing and playing on different musical instruments. Of these, the first two are dancing; the third and fourth are playing on flutes while dancing; the fifth has an indistinct musical instrument; the sixth and seventh are also dancing like the former ones, while the last one, a bearded player, is playing on a *ḍholaka* which is suspended by a leather strap from his neck (Photograph 18).[75] It seems that males also participated in dance performances in the days of our sculptures, as has always been the case in India. In the same temple one man is playing a conch-shell and the other male participants are dancing on either side of him (Photograph 17).[76]

Besides the dancing scenes described above, one of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā panels in the Sachiyā Mātā temple and one in Harihara temple No. II contain an interesting scene of Kṛṣṇa dancing and playing with *gopīs*. In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, we notice two *gopīs* in a dancing pose. One of them has raised her left hand over her head, and she holds her half-loosened *nīvībandha* (*sārī*) with her right hand. Similarly, the second one has caught hold of her *sārī* with her left hand, while her right hand rests on her breast, as if to cover her chest. Kṛṣṇa is seen on their right side in two forms. In one case, he has an indistinct object in his hands raising it over his head; he may be dancing with the *gopīs*. In the second, he is somewhat bent and appears to be taking up something from the ground.[77]

In Harihara temple No. II, we notice Kṛṣṇa standing with an indistinct object in the right hand and the left resting on the *kaṭi*. Two *gopīs* are standing in a dancing pose on the right side of Kṛṣṇa. One of their hands is in a dancing pose while the other has caught hold of loosened *sārīs* exposing quite a part of their bodies. Seven men are standing on their left side. Two of them are facing each other, doing nothing; one of these two is holding a flower basket by its handle and the other is holding a flower garland, while the rest of them are busy dancing.[78]

Charcharī Nṛtya

In each of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā panels in Harihara temples Nos. I and III, Viṣṇu temple No. I, and Sachiyā Mātā temple at Osian, we find a scene of *Charcharī nṛtya*, which is the local variety of Rāsa-līlā. Dashrath Ojha says that these two dances, *Rāsa* and *Charcharī*, belong to the same class.[79] In the

Sachiyā Mātā temple, five men are shown playing on different musical instruments and dancing. One of them is playing a pair of cymbals; the second one is beating a *mṛdaṅga*; the third one holds a *dhvajadaṇḍa*, while the rest of them are busy dancing.[80]

In Harihara temple No. I, seven men are noticed in place of five. Of these, one is beating on a *mṛdaṅga*; two are playing on a pair of cymbals. One is beating a small *ḍholaka*; the fifth one is in a dancing pose; the sixth one has a *dhvajadaṇḍa* fixed on the ground. The last one is in a dancing pose with his right hand upraised and the left resting on his chest.[81]

In Harihara temple No. III, the men, who are engaged in playing on different musical instruments, are mutilated. Only five men are noticed. Of these, one holds a bag or basket with his left hand and a flower garland with the right. The second and the fourth carry a flower garland in their hands, while the fifth man is in a dancing pose. His right hand is raised and the left is placed on the *kaṭi*.[82]

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[83] describes the dance in detail, but there is no mention of any musical instrument accompanying the dancers, whereas these panels show a number of musicians playing various types of musical instruments. It also says that the dancers sang, while they danced.

From these sculptures, it is clear that dancing was one of the favourite amusements of the people of Osian. The dancing scenes sculptured on the walls of these temples are both secular and religious in character. While certain scenes do not have any obvious religious touch, their depiction on the holy walls of these temples goes to show that the people of the period did not consider dancing as something giving sensuous pleasure, but rather as something of a sacred art. Other dancing scenes are clearly of a religious character. They are presented as a part of the procession of worshippers carrying water-vessels in their hands.[84] The presence of the conch-shell, gong and bell along with the flute, cymbals, drums and trumpet goes to show that these dancers were a part of the ritual of worship in the contemporary period. These sculptures also suggest that dancing was popular among both males and females.

The dancing girls have been presented in various moods (*bhāva*) expressing their ideals through the movement of the body (*aṅgikābhinaya*), the movement of limbs (*aṅga*) or a part of the body (*pratyaṅga*), and distinct peculiarities (*upaṅga*).[85] There is an attempt on the part of the sculptors to illustrate various intricate poses of the dance. The panels have preserved for us the dance prevalent in Rajasthan in the period between the 8th and 12th centuries A.D. A careful study of sculptures may indicate that the large number of representations depict poses that are found in the classical literature of Indian dance.

Adult Education

In a scene in the Jaina temple, we notice a teacher seated on a chair and teaching his disciples. He is giving a discourse to his pupils, who are seated in front of him. Between the two, there is a table on which something is placed, perhaps a book. The teacher is explaining something to his disciples with his right hand extended in the *iṅgita-mudrā*. The disciple, who is seated in front of him, has placed his right hand on the table. His raised left hand is holding a manuscript and the left hand of the teacher is also holding some indistinct object which looks like a bag. Behind the seated student, five other disciples are sitting in a line. Out of these five, three are women and two are men; one of them being bearded. Except for him, others are seated in the *añjali-mudrā*. The total number of disciples is six. They may be three couples. The scene probably depicts the teacher giving a discourse to grown-up householders.[86]

Elsewhere on the outer walls of the same shrine we notice a teacher seated on a chair. His right leg is folded at the knee and rests on the same chair, while the left is placed in a half-crossed posture. Five disciples are seated on the ground in front of him. There is also a cross-legged table in between the two on which a book is placed. Among the disciples, three are seated in front of the *guru* and the two females are seated behind them. The disciple seated first in front of the teacher has his left arm bent at the elbow and the hand raised upwards, while the right hand rests on his chest. The second man is seated in the *añjali-mudrā*; the third is standing, perhaps with folded hands. The fourth, a woman, is also standing in the *añjali-mudrā*, and the fifth figure is somewhat mutilated. In this scene also the teacher is probably giving a discourse to some householders (Photograph 46).

Besides literary education, our sculptures also give a glimpse of training in music, both vocal and instrumental. Various types of musical instruments, percussion, pneumatic, vibratory and resonatory, etc., represented in our sculptures show their popularity in that age. The art of playing them must have been imparted by an *āchārya*. But there is only one scene depicting training in vocal music, and that is in the Piplā Devī temple.[88]

Professional Education

The sculptures of Osian give a glimpse of various arts and crafts in which the people were engaged in those days. We can safely presume that technical training in various arts and crafts was imparted by the master technicians in their workshops. The *Nārada Smṛti*[89] has described elaborately how technical education was imparted in ancient India. It has laid down rules for the guidance of master craftsmen and the training of apprentices. Similar rules might have been observed in the region of Osian during the period under study.

Some of the sculptures indicate that education in military science must have been imparted to the soldiers. It might have been one of the compulsory subjects of study for the *Kṣatriyas*. The different types of weapons which are shown in the hands of the soldiers and in the battle scenes indicate that education in military science was imparted to both the sexes, male (Photograph 19) and female.[90]

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1. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho*, p. 77.
2. H.H.T. No. II, Jagatī, N. Wall.
3. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, N. Wall.
4. J.T., S.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. Wall.
5. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Gajathara, Outer W. Wall.
6. For details, see Chapter on "Vaiṣṇavism".
7. J.T., Nāḷ-maṇḍapa, N. Pillar.
8. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Gajathara, Outer W. Wall.
9. Ibid.
10. Misra, S.S., *Mānasollāsa, A Cultural Study*, p. 363.
11. For details, see Chapter on "Vaiṣṇavism".
12. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. Wall.
13. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
14. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
15. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
16. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
17. *Kuṭṭanimatam*, v. 362, p. 71.
18. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
19. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Door-jamb.
20. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
21. Ibid.
22. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
23. *Śabdakalpadruma*, IV, word *vādyam*, p. 332.
24. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho*, p. 61.
25. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
26. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
27. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Mahāmaṇḍ, ceiling, S. Wall.
28. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
29. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz, above the Jaṅghā.
30. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Door-jamb.
31. H.H.T. No. III, maṇḍ, Outer N. Wall; H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz, above the Jaṅghā.
32. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Maṇḍ, ceiling; H.H.T. No. III, Aṅta, ceiling.
33. H.H.T. No. III, Aṅta, ceiling.
34. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz, above the Jaṅghā.
35. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
36. Ibid.
37. *JUPHS*, Vol. XXII (1949), p. 96.
38. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Ceiling. The figures have, however, been identified by Dr D.R. Bhandarkar, *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 110.
39. H.H.T. No. I, Aṅta, fz, W. Wall.
40. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
41. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Adhiṣ, Outer N. Wall.
42. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Maṇḍ, ceiling.
43. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
44. Usually in all the Vaiṣṇava temples.
45. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer N. Wall.
46. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer W. & S. Walls.
47. H.H.T. No. I, Door-lintel; Sūrya Temple, Aṅta, fz, S. Side; V.T. No. III, Door-lintel.
48. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
49. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
50. Vidya Prakash, op. cip., p. 66, Fig. 19.
51. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
52. Bawari, E. Wall.
53. Ibid., E. Wall.
54. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
55. Ibid.

56. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. Wall.
57. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
58. *Chambers Encyclopaedia* (1955), Vol. IV, p. 361.
59. Agrawal, V.S., *India as Known to Paṇini*, p. 167.
60. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho*, p. 68, cf. Altekar, A.S., *The Position of Women in Ancient India*, p. 182: "The custom, however, had come into vogue by about 3rd century A.D., for Kālidāsa refers to dancing girls present in Mahākāl temple of Ujjainī at the time of evening worship." See *Meghadūta*, I, 35-36; but Kālidāsa mentions professional dancing girls and not *devadāsīs*.
61. H.H.T. No. III, Aṅta, ceiling.
62. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. & W. Walls; J.T., N.W. & S.W. Shrines, Adhiṣ, fz, S. W. & N. Walls. There is only one panel showing male dancers, vide pp. 122-23.
63. H.H.T. No. III, Aṅta, ceiling.
64. Jayakar, Pupul, *Marg*, Vol. 12 (1958-59), p. 58.
65. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer W. Wall.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
69. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
70. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer W. Wall.
71. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. Wall.
72. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer W. Wall.
73. H.H.T. No. I, Door-jamb.
74. Sūrya Temple, Aṅta, Pillars; cf. Bhandarkar, D.R., *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 106.
75. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
76. Ibid. Placed in a niche on the eastern wall of the Jaina Temple.
77. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, fz, S. Wall.
78. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
79. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, fz, N. Wall.
80. Ojha, Dashrath, *Rāsa and Rasānvī Kāvya*, p. 15.
81. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
82. Ibid., No. III, Outer N. Wall.
83. *Bhāg.*, 10, 33.
84. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer N. Wall.
85. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *The Mirror of Gesture*, 1917, pp. 17-18.
86. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
87. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer N. Wall.
88. P.D.T., Maṇḍ, W. Pillar.
89. *Nārada Smṛti*, V.
90. H.H.T. No. I, S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall; Sūrya Temple, Aṅta, W. & N. Walls.

7

ECONOMIC LIFE

AS regards the economic life of the period, our sculptures throw plenty of light on the different occupations and vocations of the people. Some of them throw direct light on this aspect of life, as, for example, servants serving their masters and mistresses, labourers carrying loads, and teachers teaching their pupils. But most of the sculptures depict indirectly the arts and crafts of the time. The elaborate designs of jewellery and weapons of war and other objects, noticed in our sculptures, suggest the well-developed arts of the goldsmith, the ironsmith, etc. Though there is no scene at Osian in which masons are seen engaged in their profession, we can safely assume that the architectural and sculptural activities were widely cultivated in that age. The surviving temples at Osian are themselves the best proof of this.

Our sculptures also suggest that there must have existed the professional cultivators, potters, carpenters, attendants, leather-workers, tailors, etc., in the period represented by them.

Agriculture

Agriculture must have been then, as always in India, the principal means of sustenance of the people, as also the main source of revenue of the state. At Osian, there is no scene in which farmers and other labourers are seen engaged in farming; but we have the representation of a ploughshare, the main implement of agricultural operation, in an image of Balarāma (Pl. XXII, Fig. 6).[1] Local tradition suggests that the region of Osian was a great grain-producing and marketing centre in the past.[2]

Groves and Gardens

Further, our sculptures also depict trees like *kadamba*,[3] mango,[4] and several other varieties of fruits including grapes.[5] It suggests that gardening and fruit cultivation was also popular in those days. Various kinds of flowers are also noticed, but mostly sun flowers and lotuses. These are seen in the hands of gods, and carved on the ceiling. These sculptures prove that most of the people were agriculturists and horticulturists and their livelihood depended on these occupations.

Cattle-Rearing

Several species of wild and domesticated animals, such as lion, deer, elephant, horse, ass, cow, bull, goat, sheep and dog are noticed. However, the wild animals are not noticed in the jungle-setting as we notice in Khajuraho.[6] These animals are represented as the *vāhanas* of gods and goddesses and also otherwise. Of these animals, horses must have been employed for riding and for drawing chariots. They are frequently seen in war scenes,[7] processions[8] and in the images of the Sun-God[9] and the Jaina Vidyādevī, Achyuptā.[10] They also had an indispensable place in the war. Victory in war greatly depended on the strength of horses. The scenes show that these horses were very useful both in war and in peace time. Besides horses, elephants also served as a means of conveyance and transport of heavy loads from one place to another. They were also employed by the army in war and played a leading role therein. "In an age when powerful mechanical weapons and explosives were not known, the elephant played a very prominent part in military operations, thanks mainly to his prodigious size and enormous strength. He was regarded as a superior fighting unit in the military organization."[11] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, we notice a cow with a calf sucking milk.[12] In the Jaina temple, she is also represented as a *vāhana* of a Vidyādevī, Rohiṇī.[13] The ox is also frequently noticed with the images of Śiva as his *vāhana* (Photograph 33). It must have also been used for tilling land and for pulling carts.[14] Usually the figure of a sheep is observed as a *vāhana* of god Agni. It must have provided wool as well as meat to the people.[15] The dog is often portrayed with the gods, Revanta[16] and Bhairava.[17] It was one of the domesticated animals and must have been useful for hunting. The dog is always seen following his master, Revanta. The other tamed animals, such as goats, pigs, sheep and deer, must have been slaughtered for meat. In the wedding ceremony of Neminātha, different types of animals were carved according to tradition (Photograph 44).[18] The monkey was also tamed by the women for passing their lonely hours. We also notice pet animals in our sculptures. Besides animals, birds, such as swans, peacocks and cocks are noticed with the images of Chandra[19] and in one of the *Śakaṭa-bhaṅga* scenes of Kṛṣṇa-līlā.[20] The swan is depicted as a *vāhana* of god Chandra,[21] and is also seen as taking a drop of water from the squeezing tresses of a lady.[22] The peacock was a favourite object of depiction by sculptors of Osian. It is represented as the *vāhana* of Kārttikeya and the Jaina Vidyādevī, Nirvāṇī. It is also represented in other contexts. In Harihara temple No. II, we notice two peacocks on the ceiling of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*. A bowl is placed in between the two with their beaks in it. Evidently they are eating something out of it.[23] At another place in the same temple, two peacocks are represented as engaged in fighting with each other.[24] Likewise in the Jaina temple, we have a representation of two peacocks seated in front of each other. One of them has put its beak inside the beak of the other. The former may be feeding or fondling the other.[25] A crow is seen seated on the rim of a vessel containing curd and is eating it.[26] Looking at the animals and birds, we can presume that cattle- and bird-rearing must have been practised by the people in those times.

Besides these animals, certain aquatic animals, such as crocodiles (*makara*), tortoises (*kūrma*) and snakes (*sarpa*) are represented in our sculptures. Among them the *makara* is represented as the *vāhana* of god Varuṇa[27] and goddess Gaṅgā.[28] The *kūrma* is only depicted as the *vāhana* of goddess Yamunā.[29] It is also represented in the Kūrmāvatāra of Viṣṇu (Photograph 24).[30] The figures of snakes are noticed very frequently in our temples. In Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes, Kṛṣṇa is represented as subjugating the serpent, Kāliya (Photograph 27). In this scene Nāginīs, the wives of Kāliya, are also depicted with folded hands, as if they are supplicating Lord Kṛṣṇa (Photograph 27). The same scene occurs on the outer friezes of the three earlier Harihara group of temples, Viṣṇu temple No. I and on the *aṅtarāla* ceiling of the Sachiyā Mātā temple.[31] Further, we notice figures of snakes decorating the *aṅtarāla* ceilings of the same three Harihara temples. In Harihara temple Nos. I & II, the *nāgas* are entwined with one another, but their tails are held by Garuḍa who is seen amidst them. The ceiling of Harihara temple No. III is decorated in a different pattern (Photograph 15). Besides the ceiling, the door-jambs are also decorated with entwining *nāga* figures and their tails are held by Garuḍa. In the Sachiyā Mātā[32] and Jaina temples,[33] we notice snake figures as the *lāñchchhana* of Pārśvanātha and as one of the attributes and *vāhana* of Vairoṭī.[34] It seems that it was one of the favourite animals of portrayal by sculptors in the

earlier temples of Osian. It is remarkable that at Osian we do not come across even a single representation of the camel in any sculpture, though this animal figures in sculptures at Khajuraho.[35]

Hunting

Actually, there is no scene in which a hunting party is shown engaged in hunt, as in the Khajuraho sculptures.[36] But from the images of Revanta, we may infer that hunting might have been indulged in both as sport and as a profession. There must have been a professional class of hunters then as always in India. In two of the images, god Revanta is shown riding a horse as an expert rider along with an attendant and holding the reins of the horse with one of his hands. He is followed by a dog. In one case, a sword and a shield have been tied at the back of the horse; but he is not seen as engaged in hunting.[37]

Metal-Workers

At Osian, ornaments are seen on the images of divine and human beings. They are shown as adorned with various kinds of ornaments, both embossed and beaded, on the different parts of the body. Different types of ornaments are suggestive of different methods employed in their manufacture as well as the skill and dexterity of the goldsmiths and silversmiths. It appears that they were expert not only in the manufacture of different varieties of ornaments, but also in the art of setting and inserting the gems and stones in the *kuṇḍalas*, *bendās*, *hāras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras* and other ornaments. The goldsmiths gave different shapes to the ornaments according to the desire of their clients.

It is difficult to distinguish gold ornaments from the silver ones in our sculptures. Intuitively, it can be safely presumed, however, that silver ornaments must have also been made and probably used by the poorer sections of the community. Furthermore, heavy ornaments such as anklets must have been made of silver, as is the practice even today. The quality of the jewellery seen on the sculptures suggests that the silversmiths must have attained the same proficiency in their work as the goldsmiths.

It can be safely assumed that the coppersmiths too must have manufactured ornaments for people and animals such as horses, bulls and elephants (Photograph 17). These animals were decorated with ornaments specially worn round their necks.

Spouted Vessels

There is a spouted vessel with a lid in one of the hands of Varuṇa. It must have been used for pouring water. It has a high base, an elongated neck and convex shoulders (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 6).[38]

Basins and Bowls

There are also bowls with or without a base. They are noticed in the hands of Gaṇeśa and they contain *modakas*. Generally these are round-based and double-rimmed (Pl. XXIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3;[39] Photograph 35). The bowls have been depicted in drinking scenes[40] as well as in the hands of Kubera.[41] Some of these bowls are plain, while others are decorated with various designs and they are either flat or high-based.

Bells

Bells were usually made of metal such as brass, copper, etc. From the sculptures we find that these were hung from the roof by a long chain. A similar practice is noticed even today. Their outer surface is either plain or decorated with various patterns and designs. At Osian, these are noticed either on the *aṅtarāla*, or *maṇḍapa* pillars, or on the outer walls of temples[42] (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 6). The bell was used in

the temple during worship, and it was usually hung from the roof with a strong iron chain. A small bell is seen in one of the hands of goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī and of god Agni.

The Mirror

Coppersmiths also manifested their skill in manufacturing mirrors. They made mirrors of some shining metal and gave them different shapes, such as round, oval, etc. The mirrors, depicted in our sculptures, are not very different from the modern ones in their shape and size. They are seen in the hands of goddesses, *apsarās* and womenfolk.

Our sculptures indicate that mirrors were of great importance to the women for their personal make-up. Some of the sculptures depict ladies standing or sitting, with mirrors in their hands and admiring their personal beauty, or putting on some *bindī* (vermilion mark), or ornament, or staining their lips, while looking into them (Pl. IV, Figs. 2 & 3).[43]

In Harihara temple No. I, Siṁhavāhinī Durgā is seen putting on a *bendā* on her forehead with the help of a mirror held in one of her left hands.[44] In the same temple again, we notice a lady holding a mirror in her left hand and applying the vermilion mark on her forehead.[45]

Umbrellas and Fly-Whisks

The umbrella and *chāmara* are represented in our sculptures, but they are not of many varieties. We notice an umbrella raised over the head of Revanta and Vāmana. In the former case, it is held by an attendant, and in the latter case in the hands of Vāmana himself, suggesting that the umbrella was an important element in the paraphernalia of the exalted ones. The *chhatra* was an emblem of royalty, and is noticed in our sculptures. We can safely presume that the umbrella was used as much by the people to protect themselves from rain in those days as today; therefore, there must have been professional manufacturers of umbrellas. The umbrellas, which we notice in the Osian sculptures, are convex in shape with a tapering rod. They may be made of cloth, sometimes with designs on them (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 3).[46]

In our sculptures fly-whisks are shown in the hands of female attendants. Usually, they are depicted on either side of the gods and goddesses in standing postures. In ancient times, these female attendants were known as *chāmaradhāriṇīs*.[47]

Weapons

The most important function of blacksmiths was the manufacture of different kinds of offensive and defensive weapons in use then in the country. These weapons are very frequently represented in our sculptures, particularly in the war scenes (Photograph 19). They are also seen in the hands of various gods and goddesses. The Jaina temple portrays several types of weapons on its *adhiṣṭhāna* frieze, viz., a bow, two quivers full of arrows, a shield, a conch, a disc and a sword (Pl. XXII, Fig. 7).[48] The important varieties of weapons, noticed in our sculptures, are described below.

The Sword (*Asi, Khaḍga*)

The sword seems to have been the most popular war weapon. It was used when soldiers were engaged in close fights. They were used by all units of the army, particularly the infantry. At certain places, we notice a single soldier holding a sword in his right hand, either horizontally[49] or tilted at the back.[50] The pose suggests that he is aiming a blow at his opponent, or he is going to thrust his weapon into his body.

In the war scenes, soldiers are often shown fighting against their enemies with different kinds of swords held by the hilt with their right hand.[51] Swords appear in the hands of gods and goddesses and Jaina Vidyādevīs also, such as Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Photograph 37), Nirriti, Purūṣadattā, Achyuptā, Vairoṭī, etc. The following types of swords are noticed in our sculptures.

Double-Edged Straight Swords

It is a double-edged straight sword with a broad blade. It seems to have been thick and heavy. The handle is identical in all cases, though the variations are very minor. It is of two kinds. One is slightly narrow near the hilt, the blade becoming broader towards the end. The end of the blade is broad and not pointed, while both the edges of the sword are sharp (Pl. XX, Fig. 7).[52] In the other variety, the tip is round, not broad (Pl. XX, Fig. 4).[53] A similar sword has been depicted in the Jaina temple, which has no pommel on its hilt. Its double-edged blade is broad near the gaurd, then it curves a little and then broadens gradually and has a rounded tip. It appears to be sharp on both edges (Pl. XX, Fig. 8).[54] In Pl. XX, Figs. 5 & 6[55] can be seen double-edged swords having the top of the blade broad and gradually tapering to a round tip. Their hilts, gaurds and pommels differ from each other.

Thrust-Swords

Pl. XX, Figs. 1, 2 & 3[56] depict another variety of the sword. The swords of this type were used only to thrust and not to strike. These swords are also straight like double-edged swords. The difference between the two is that, while this sword has an extremely pointed, sharp end, the end of the other is not so pointed. This sword is sharp on both edges and is smaller than the other varieties. All these swords have different kinds of pommels and quillons.

Cut-Swords

Pl. XX, Fig. 15, Photograph 19[57] is a type of cut-sword. Its concave edge seems to be sharp, while the convex is blunt. A sharp point is seen projecting out of the hilt on the convex side. The hilt of the sword is like the usual one and the blade seems to be sharp and pointed.

Curved Swords

This type of sword has a broad, curved blade and a pointed or roundish end (Pl. XX, Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12; Pl. XXII, Fig. 7).[58] Its blade is uniform in width except near the point, where it becomes narrow. The hilt has no peculiarity except that for the sake of beauty, it has been decorated differently. Only the convex side of its blade is sharp.

The Spear (Kunta)

Generally the spear consists of two parts—the wooden or metallic shaft and the pointed, metallic head. In shape and size, they were usually similar. Like the sword, the spear was also used in close fights. The spear could be used with one hand or with both. In the latter case, it served as a missile. In our sculptures we notice it in the hands of foot-soldiers,[59] warriors on the back of elephants,[60] as well as on chariots.[61] Several types of spears are represented in the Osian sculptures; but only two are noted here. These two are to some extent similar to each other.

In Pl. XXI, Fig. 7,[62] we notice a spear with a hilt which is grasped by the right hand of the warrior. It has a small pommel and a quillon. The knob fixing the blade to the pole is flower-shaped, and the blade which is leaf-shaped has a sharp point. The other spear (Pl. XXI, Fig. 9)[63] has no hilt and the leaf-shaped blade is fixed to a simple-looking long pole with an ordinary knob.

The Trident (Triśūla)

The delineation of the trident is clear and some artistic imagination must have entered into its conception. Its long handle is made of either metal or wood, but the top is invariably of metal. The weapon

is associated with Śiva, the god of destruction, and there is no image of the god in which the weapon does not appear amongst his attributes. In the Osian group of temples, the trident appears not only in the hands of Śiva, but also in the hands of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, who is seen killing the buffalo-demon with it (Photograph 37).

We come across several varieties of the trident at Osian. In Pl. XXI, Figs. 1, 4, 5;[64] and Photographs 33 and 37, we see the common kind of trident which usually appears in the hands of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Śiva, or Śiva-gaṇas. It has a long pole which is narrow in the beginning and becomes slightly stouter as it moves up. It has three sharp blades. The middle blade is leaf-shaped, while the two side ones are curved.

In Pl. XXI, Fig. 3,[65] the pole seems to be made of some metal or carved wood. The three blades attached to it are longish and are extremely sharp. In this trident all the three blades are thorn-shaped.

In Pl. XXI, Fig. 12,[66] the weapon is to some extent similar to the previous one, with a slight modification. It has two holes at the base of the blade just where it is fixed to the pole. The holes give a fearful look to the trident, as they look like the eyes of some fearful animal.

In Pl. XXI, Fig. 2,[67] the blades of the trident are flower-shaped and it is one of the most beautiful of all. It seems that the sculptor had borrowed something from the *paraśu* in the conception of this blade.

The Club (*Gadā*)

The club or mace is one of the most ancient weapons of India. It is an attribute of Lord Viṣṇu. It is prominently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and appears to have been more popular than the sword or any other weapon in the epic age.[68] Both Bhīma and Hanumān, the two legendary heroes of India, are considered to be experts in wielding the mace. This weapon has been referred to in many later works also.

There are several types of mace, varying in their heads, sizes and shapes. They are beautifully carved on the top, though much of their original beauty has been lost by the ravages of time and weather (Pl. XXI, Figs. 6 & 8;[69] Photographs 22 and 29).

Pl. XXI, Fig. 11[70] shows the *khaṭvāṅga*, a variety of mace, or we may say, an indigenous modification of it, which is found in one of the hands of Yama whose figure appears in almost all the temples at Osian along with other Dikpālas.[71] Its shape is similar to that of a mace. The stick is narrow in the beginning and grows thicker towards the end. In place of the metal head of the mace, a human head is fixed on the thicker side to make the weapon awful. Since it has not been noticed in the hands of soldiers, probably it was not used as a military weapon, but as one of his insignia.

The Bow and Arrow

The bow and arrow are decidedly the most ancient weapons of war. The very fact that our military science was named *Dhanurveda* proves clearly that the bow and arrow were the principal weapons of war in ancient India. The bow was known by different names such as *sāraṅga*, *kodaṇḍa*, and *kārmuka*. Whether these terms were synonymous or were the names of different types of weapon cannot be said with certainty.[72] The arrow with its pointed head was used as a missile. The bow was slung down the left shoulder.[73] Besides men, women are also shown with bows slung across their shoulders[74] but Jaina Vidyādevī Achyuptā is seen holding an arrow in her lower right hand and a bow in the lower left hand. While discharging the arrow, the lower end of the bow was firmly fixed on the ground and the archers knelt on the ground (Pl. XX, Fig. 14).[75] It was used not only by foot-soldiers,[76] but also by chariot soldiers.[77] These weapons are found not only in the war scenes, but individual soldiers also have been shown in the act of shooting arrows.[78] The bow and arrow were very commonly used in India until modern ammunition appeared on the scene.

The Shield (Charma)

The shield was a weapon of defence and was very much in vogue in war in ancient and mediaeval times. It was made of leather, sometimes of wood or metal plate covered with leather. It had a strong handle on the back and its diameter was usually about one and a half feet. The soldiers parried the strike or thrust of a sword or a spear on the front of the shield.

Several types of shields are depicted on the sculptures of Osian. They appear in the hands of foot soldiers,[79] chariot-soldiers[80] and other warriors.[81] The shield is also seen in the hands of goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Photograph 37), Jaina Vidyādevīs Puruṣadattā, Achyuptā and Vairoṭī. The shape of the shields carried by the soldiers is mostly round. It is carved in the middle and looks like a concave or convex lens. The most interesting feature of the shield is decorative designs carved on its front part, such as circles (Pl. XXII, Fig. 7)[82] and criss-cross lines (Photograph 37),[83] simple or plain (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3).[84]

Amongst the other weapons and appurtenances noticed in the Osian temples are the quivers, armours, *śirastrāṇa*, the *vajra*, the *chakra*, the *hala*, the *pāśa* and the *paraśu*. In the first case (Pl. XX, Figs. 13 and 14),[85] the quivers (*nisaṅga*) were slung on the back and contained arrows. Armour was also used as a protection against animal attacks. We notice iron nets on the bodies of war horses[86] and elephants[87] and coats of mail put on by god Sūrya.[88] At one place we also notice what looks like a helmet (*śirastrāṇa*) (Photograph 19, 6th and 7th right).[89] The others are the weapons associated with different gods and goddesses and naturally they appear in their hands. Indra is always shown with a *vajra* in his hands (Pl. XXI, Fig. 10).[90] It looks like two small tridents joined together with a small handle in the middle and is usually held by the right hand.

The disc or *chakra* is the weapon associated with Viṣṇu who is always represented holding it in one of his hands (Pl. XXII, Figs. 1, 2, 4).[91] It is circular in shape like a wheel and its rim is sharp all round. There are several specimens of it in different temples with slight variations in their design. In the Jaina temple, we find the image of Yakṣiṇī, Chakreśvarī, with a *chakra* in each of her four hands (Photograph 45).

The noose, *pāśa*, is the weapon found in the hands of Varuṇa (Pl. VIII, Fig. 3).[92] It was made of twisted rope. It is also noticed in the hands of foot soldiers.[93]

The plough or *hala* was the weapon handled by Balarāma (Pl. XXII, Fig. 6;[94] Photographs 30 and 31). It symbolised physical prowess. It is shown in one of his hands in the sculptures at Osian.

The battle-axe or the *paraśu*, like the spear, must have been a popular weapon of war in the ancient days; but it is strange that the weapon appears in the hands of Gaṇeśa in our sculptures (Pl. XXI, Fig. 13;[95] Photograph 35).

Like the *gadā* and *triśūla*, the *khaṭvāṅgas* are also noticed only in the hands of gods and goddesses. It appears that they had ceased to be popular military weapons in the age represented by the sculptures of Osian.

Potter's Art

The vast number of sculptures in the Osian group of temples introduce different types of pots (Pl. XXIII, Figs. 1-10, 12),[96] such as bowls, vessels and jars, and other domestic pots. Generally these are noticed in the hands of divinities and *apsarās*. It appears that besides metallic vessels, vessels made of clay must have been commonly used by the people; there must have been a class of professional potters who made different types of pottery. Our delineations prove that the meritorious potters of that time not only showed their dexterity in making different types of pots, but they also beautifully decorated them with various flowery, embossed designs. The specimens depicted in Pl. VIII, Fig. 3 and Pl. XXIII, Figs. 5, 6, 7 may be the handiwork of expert craftsmen and they show a high order of workmanship and finish.

Bead-Making

Our sculptures reveal the popularity of beads. Bead ornaments are noticed not only in the human images, but also in divine images and even in the representations of animals. These ornaments are still in use in Rajasthan as also in other parts of the country. We notice here men and women wearing single, double, treble or even six-stringed beaded necklaces. Besides these, they are also shown wearing beaded earrings, *bendās*, bracelets, armlets, girdles, anklets, etc.[97] We cannot deduce from our sculptures the material used in the manufacture of beads. We notice different types of beads, round, bi-conical or oval, diamond, etc. The manufacture of beads is an old art of India. It is amply testified to by several archaeological discoveries. Usually the material used for bead-making was terracotta, precious metals, ivory, wood and precious or semi-precious stones.

Carpenters and Wood-Carvers

The Osian sculptures also bear witness to the existence of skilled carpenters and wood-carvers. Their services were required in several fields. They played an important role in the construction of buildings. Besides constructing doors, windows, beams, etc., they were also helpful to the agriculturists, for it was they who manufactured ploughs and the wooden handles of agricultural implements. Domestic furniture was also manufactured by them. We frequently notice beds, tables, chairs, seats, churn-staffs in our sculptures. These were certainly produced by them. Skilled carpenters must have also been employed for the manufacture of different varieties of musical instruments which have been already described in Chapter VI. Another important production of the carpenters was carts and carriages. Some of the wood carvers' works are described in the following paragraphs.

Doors

Doors are noticed in the scenes connected with the life story of Kṛṣṇa. Some of them are beautifully carved.[98]

Ploughs

From the shape of the plough, seen in one of the hands of Balarāma, we may conclude that the plough was used for tilling the ground. The carpenters were skilled in manufacturing the ploughs and other implements for agricultural use. Agriculture was the main occupation of the country (Pl. XXII, Fig. 6;[99] Photographs 30 and 31).

Pestles

The wooden *musala* or pestle seen in the hands of Balarāma was used for husking and pounding grain (Photograph 30).[100]

Tables

Our sculptures reveal folding tables with two pairs of cross legs and a plain board (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2).[101] They also show that they were usually covered with a decorated cloth.[102] Such folding tables are noticed also in Khajuraho[103] and Bhubaneswar[104] sculptures.

Chairs

There are certain scenes which throw a considerable light on armless wooden chairs (Pl. XXIV,

Fig. 8).[105] Their backs are high and slanting, because of which one can easily sit in the cross-legged position.

Bedsteads and Benches

Bedsteads and benches are also depicted in our sculptures (Pl. XXIV, Figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 & 10; Pl. XXIII, Figs. 11 & 12).[106] These look like a modern *takhatpośa* and *chārpāī*. It seems that bedsteads and benches were usually made of wooden planks. The bedstead was supported by four legs which were also made of wood. All the illustrations noticed here show that a bedsheet was also spread on the bedstead, because its hanging portion is clearly visible. It is also well-decorated with beautiful designs. These are noticed in the Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes and Jaina temple.

Churning Sticks

The churn-staff shown in our sculptures is very much like its modern counterpart (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1).[107] It is noticed in the Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes, where we find Yaśodā engaged in churning with the help of a rope and the churn-staff immersed in milk in an earthen pot.

Carts

The representation of a cart is noticed only in the *Śakaṭa-bhaṅga* scene connected with the life-story of Kṛṣṇa (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 3).[108] Only one of its wheels is visible. The other wheel and the yoke are concealed from view.

Chariots

Chariots (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2)[109] are noticed in several scenes, particularly in the war scenes and in the images of Sūrya.[110] The Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha, is also seen riding one on his way to his marriage (Photograph 44).[111]

Cane and Reed Workers

In addition to tables and chairs, Osian sculptures depict a typical type of *morhā*. It is similar to the modern one, some of the *morhās* are high (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 8),[112] while others are low (Pl. XXV, Figs. 10-14).[113] They are narrow in the middle and broad both at the base and the top. The middle part is ornamented with beautiful designs. Most probably, these were made of cane, reed and bamboo. They can be identified with the *vetrāsana* of Kālidāsa.[114] Somewhat similar types of *morhās* are noticed on the Gupta coins[115] as well as on Khajuraho sculptures.[116]

Besides the *morhās*, a domestic winnowing pan is also noticed in the hands of the goddess Śītalā.[117] Such winnowing pans must have been used by the ladies for winnowing corn. They must have been made of thin reeds as even today.

In a hot climate, such as that of India, a fan is an absolute necessity, and it has been in use since very early times. Fans were made of cane, bamboo, palm-leaves, reed matting or peacock feathers, mounted on a long, thin wooden handle (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 5;[118] Photograph 21). At Osian, it is noticed in the hands of a goddess. She is waving it over the head of the *Śeṣaśāyī* god Viṣṇu. This fan shows artistry of a very high order and a modern fan-maker would be proud of it. The reed workers also manufactured baskets which we notice in the *setu-bandha* scene. The monkeys are seen carrying construction material in baskets placed over their heads. These articles suggest that cane and leaf workers also existed in those times and they must have had an important place in society.

Rope-Makers

There are certain scenes in which ropes are noticed. These scenes suggest that ropes were used for several purposes, such as for the reins of horses,[119] to tie the howdahs on the back of elephants,[120] to hold churn-staffs (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1)[121] and may be for other purposes also. There must have been a class of professional rope-makers who produced thin and thick ropes for all purposes.

Masons and Architects

From the surviving monuments as Osian, it is evident that a class of expert masons and architects was also in existence. It was they who constructed temples, *vāpīs*, tanks, etc. They also constructed dwelling houses; but it is difficult to give the actual plan of the buildings, because there is no scene where all the details of it are shown. Only in the Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes of the Sachiyā Mātā temple are the houses of Mathura seen at a distance. They suggest the existence of two or three-storeyed buildings with big gates in the country (Photographs 16 and 25).

The temples and *vāpīs* of Osian suggest that the masons and architects must have had a knowledge of advanced geometry. The *vāpī* still in existence at Osian is a rectangular one. There are stairs on all its sides except the eastern one. On this side there is a gallery facing west. This gallery is closed on three sides. On the western side, there are a few pillars on which *mithuna* figures are sculptured. A similar type of *vāpī* is also noticed in Abaneri.

Stone-Carvers and Sculptors

There must have also been in existence a class of expert sculptors. Various images, human and divine, which we notice in different temples in Osian, furnish the best proof of their skill and efficiency. They also carved beautiful floral and other designs on the ceilings, pillars, etc., of temples. A very beautiful example of it is noticed on the ceilings of most temples. They are decorated with the petals of full-blown lotuses and entwining snakes. In Harihara temple Nos. I and II, their tails are held by Garuḍa. The ceilings of the two subsidiary shrines in the Sachiyā Mātā temple are particularly noteworthy.[122] There is no scene here in which stone-carvers are seen engaged in cutting or hammering the stones as we observe at the Khajuraho temples.[123] The sculptors are seen at their best in the carving of animal figures, such as Nandī, the Bull, the Varāha, the elephants and the lions, etc. They must have also produced stone-vessels for the household. Dr R.C. Majumdar has appreciated the art of Osian sculptors. He says, "Osiā [Osian] sculptures adhere more closely to the classical tradition with its vigorous modelling of a youthful body spreading itself in the amplitude of its mass. The same vigorous and also tough modelling gives life and strength to the relief of the Puraṇa Mahādeva temple of Harshagiri, also belonging to the tenth century."[124]

Weavers

There are several scenes depicting men and women wearing fine and coarse cloth. They suggest that the clothes must have been manufactured with a good quality of fabric. Sometimes these clothes appear embroidered and sometimes these look printed. Our sculptures also portray men and women, belonging to the upper strata of society, who always wore super quality garments. Generally, ladies wore rather scanty dresses which revealed their curvaceous and graceful bodies.

Our sculptures also suggest that the art of weaving was at its perfection and the weavers must have woven a good quality of cotton or silk cloth for garments. Generally, men and women are shown wearing simple and plain clothes; but in some of the sculptures, we notice designs which were probably woven. Some of them are as follows.

Pl. XXVII, Fig. 3[125] shows uniform, wavy diagonal stripes and the space between two stripes is filled

with small flowering designs, whereas Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1[126] shows plain, horizontal double lines and Pl. XXVII, Fig. 7[127] double diagonal lines. Variation of this pattern consisted of only double wavy horizontal lines (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2),[128] and Pl. XXVII, Fig. 8[129] double wavy diagonal lines.

Pl. XXVII, Fig. 4[130] delineates a beautiful border made of a double wavy line with spots in the middle of the waves, as seen in the *sārī* worn by the lady. Pl. XXVII, Fig. 5[131] gives the design of double serrated vertical lines worn by a male figure and Pl. XXVII, Fig. 9[132] shows only a triangular series of plain triangles. In Pl. XXVII, Fig. 10[133] a similar design of triangles with spots in the triangular faces is seen on a bedsheet.

Pl. XXVII, Figs. 6 and 11[134] exhibit lattice-work design on the *kaupīna* of an ascetic and on the socks of the Sun-God.

Leather Workers

The fabrication of leather objects, such as high boots of the Sun-God and his attendants (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 11),[135] small and big bags (Pl. XXV, Figs. 1-9)[136] proves the fact that leather industry was quite developed and the leather workers earned their livelihood by making these articles. Such articles as footwear, bags, horse-saddles, etc., are present in the Khajuraho sculptures also.[137]

Labourers

In one of the panels of *adhiṣṭhāna* friezes in the Sachiyā Mātā temple, we notice monkeys engaged in the construction of a bridge. They carry loaded baskets on their heads.[138] This scene gives us an idea that there must have been a class of labourers for doing the hard work of society. These labourers must have belonged to different vocations, such as agricultural labourers, industrial workers, labourers engaged in the construction of buildings and as carriers of loads.

There must have also existed professional distillers, barbers, washermen and florists. The distillers distilled wine for consumption by the people, and some of our sculptures depict scenes of wine drinking.[139] The barbers must have cut and fashioned the hair of the people and shaved them. Our sculptures depict both bearded and shaven people. There is no scene which shows the washermen engaged in their task, but the clothes worn by the people must have been washed by them. The flower garlands represented in our sculptures might very well have been produced by professional florists.

Musicians and Dancers

There are several scenes of musicians and dancers,[140] which have been depicted on the various parts of temples. They are shown as dancing and playing on different musical instruments. We can presume that there must have been professional musicians and dancers.

Government Servants

There must have existed a class of people engaged in civil services. Our sculptures, however, only represent those engaged in military service, such as soldiers (Photograph 19),[141] charioteers (Photograph 44),[142] mahouts, horse-drivers[143] and watchmen.[144]

Domestic Servants

There were also people engaged in domestic service. They were both male and female. There is plenty of evidence to show people working as *chaurī*-bearers,[145] umbrella-holders,[146] toilet attendants,[147] etc. In some of the sculptures female attendants are depicted as looking after the children of their mistresses.

Charioteers and Drivers

There was also a class of charioteers and drivers, who must have plied their carriages for hire. Some of them might have been in the service of the state and other aristocratic persons. This fact is proved by the various scenes at Osian in which some of the persons are represented as driving chariots. In the image of Sun-God, his charioteer, Aruṇa, is very frequently represented. Charioteers are also noticed in the war scenes plying their vehicles.[148] In one of the *adhiṣṭhāna* friezes of Jaina temple, a charioteer is seen seated on the chariot and holding the bridles of horses in his hands. A king is also seated in the chariot behind the charioteer (Photograph 44).[149]

Means of Transport

The economic development of any country or state always depends on ample and cheap means of communication and transport. At Osian, there are several sculptures which throw light on the various means of communication, including chariots, carts, horses, elephants, *bahaṅgīs*, etc. They were all used for transporting heavy loads as well as passengers from one place to another.

Carts

In early times, carts were the only means of transport and communication. People used to travel in these carts; but there is no scene depicting a yoked cart. A cart is, however, seen in the Śakaṭa-bhaṅga-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, where he is seen overturning it.

Chariots

Chariots were drawn by two or four horses. Seven horses were yoked to the chariot of the Sun-God.

Elephants and Horses

Elephants and horses were also used for riding. Pack animals might have been used for transportation of goods, though we have no such scene at Osian.

Bahaṅgīs

Loads were carried on shoulders with the help of a suspended pole and two slings supporting the loads. We notice a snake-charmer carrying his load in a *bahaṅgī* suspended from his shoulders.[150]

Means of Exchange

There is sufficient historical evidence that coins were the principal means of exchange in that age, though there is no scene here at Osian, as at Sanchi and Bharhut, where coins are depicted. The barter system might have prevailed for minor transactions.

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8

RELIGION

THE sculptures of Osian are mostly religious in character. Naturally, therefore, they throw more light on the religious beliefs and practices of the people in the Gurjara-Pratihāra age than on other aspects of contemporary life. A vast majority of the temples at Osian belong to Hinduism. There is only one Śvetāmbara Jaina temple in the locality, and no Buddhist temple at all. This indicates that Hinduism was the dominant religion of the area in that age. Jainism flourished side by side with Hinduism; but Buddhism had disappeared from that part of the country. This is almost a true picture of the religious life of Northern India in that age.

Hinduism goes back to the Ṛgvedic period; but it went through considerable transformation in the course of centuries. The Ṛgvedic religion believed in the worship of natural phenomena, represented as gods and goddesses. Their number was thirty-three. The gods were worshipped by the performance of *yajña* in their honour. Opinion is sharply divided on the issue of image worship in that age. Images are referred to in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*; but there is certainly no reference to the performance of *pūjā* or to the construction of temples.

Too much stress laid on the performance of *yajñas* led to a reaction against *karmakāṇḍa* and priesthood. This reaction assumed two forms, one of which may be described as 'orthodox' and the other as 'heterodox'. The orthodox reaction led to the development of *jñāna-mārga* propounded in the *Upaniṣads* which denounces all ritualism and lays stress on a life of renunciation and practice of austerities. The hete rodox reaction is noticed in the emergence of Buddhism, Jainism and similar other creeds, which not only denounced ritualism, but also denied the authority of the *Vedas* and the very existence of God Himself. The debasement of popular heterodox creeds resulted as a reaction in the emergence of a new *mārga*, the *Bhakti-mārga*, within the fold of the orthodox religion. It laid stress on the worship of one personal God through the medium of His image. This new doctrine brought about the evolution of the divine images installed and worshipped in temples.

Another interesting phenomenon is noticed in the fortunes of gods and goddesses. The old Vedic gods like Agni, Indra and Varuṇa yielded the place of honour to the new gods of the *paurāṇic* pantheon who

either did not exist in Ṛgvedic times or, if at all, occupied a minor position in the Vedic pantheon. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva constituted the Holy Trinity of neo-Hinduism and *paurāṇic*-Hinduism; but its pantheon consisted of a very large number of other gods and goddesses. However, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Devī were the principal deities of worship. Their worship was collectively known as *Pañchadevopāsanā*. These deities became the centres of separate sects which flourished in the country. They had their own petty jealousies and rivalries which are also reflected in their images. Such was the position of Hinduism during the period of 8th to 12th centuries A.D. in India, and it is very well depicted in the sculptures of Osian. This place contains temples dedicated to all of them except Gaṇeśa, but the images of the latter are also found in the locality. In addition to these principal gods of Hinduism, we have in Osian the images of other gods and goddesses also that form part of the vast Hindu pantheon. Images representing different forms of the various deities as well as their different incarnations are also found in abundance. Thus our sculptures furnish abundant material for the study of Brahmanical iconography.

Method of Worship

There are several religious practices followed by the Hindus today as they were in the past, namely, ceremonial ablution, pilgrimage, alms-giving, *mūrti-pūjā* and *pitṛ-pūjā*. Of these only *mūrti-pūjā* is noticed in our sculptures. These represent only the worship of Śiva-*liṅga*. Other deities of the Brahmanical pantheon must have been worshipped more or less on the same pattern.

There is a big *pūjā* panel in the Sachiyā Mātā temple depicting the worship of Śiva in the form of a *liṅgam*. This scene indicates that the worship of Śiva in an iconic form must have been in vogue at that time in this region. In this panel sixteen men are shown; of these, eight are standing on the right side of the *liṅgam* which rests on an altar (*pīṭha*), while the other men are standing on its left side. On either side of the *liṅgam*, two men are shown with water pots, as if they are pouring water over it. Besides these, the man who is standing beside the former (right side) is holding an indistinct object, while the rest of them are shown playing musical instruments and dancing. On the left side of the *liṅgam* beside the first one, the second one is standing in such a position as to suggest that he is waiting for an opportunity to pay his homage to the *liṅgam*. The third one is holding an indistinct musical instrument with both his hands. The fourth and fifth appear as if they are engaged similarly as their companions. One thing which we notice in the same panel is that a *guru*, or some Brāhmaṇa, is seated on a pedestal. Down below a man is bowing his head to him. The *guru* is blessing him with his upraised right arm, while the left hand is placed on his own folded left knee. In between the two, the *guru* and the devotee, another man is standing as if awaiting his chance for paying his homage to the *guru* (Photograph 20).[1]

Besides the *pūjā* panel, we find more examples of *liṅga* worship on the stone slabs which might have been fixed later on in a row outside the main gate of the Sachiyā Mātā temple. One of these stone slabs depicts the worship of a *liṅgam* which is placed on a pedestal. On either side a lady is seen; one is sitting and the other is standing. The lady who is standing to the left of the *liṅgam* is bending towards it and holding a water pot, as if she is pouring water over the *liṅgam*, while the lady on the right is simply sitting with her folded hands in the *añjali-mudrā*. She seems to be worshipping the *liṅgam*. One more stone slab contains the *liṅga-pūja* scene. On this slab, *Śiva-liṅgam* is placed on a high pedestal. On either side of it, a woman, standing with her palms in the *añjali-mudrā*, seems to be worshipping the *liṅgam*.[2]

From the above sculptures it is apparent that several religions were flourishing side by side at Osian. Some of the major religions are discussed in the following chapters.

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VAISNAVISM

VIṢṆU is one of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, and is believed to be responsible for universal protection as Brahmā and Śiva are the gods of creation and destruction, respectively. Viṣṇu's worship is as old as the *Ṛgveda*. He is mentioned in all the four *Vedic Saṁhitās*; but in none of them does he appear as the Supreme Deity. There are comparatively a few hymns addressed to him in the *Ṛgveda*; but his personality is by no means unimportant. He is a solar deity and is identified with the Sun.[1] The word Viṣṇu is derived from the root वृ meaning to cover, and thus it means the one that covers the whole world by his extensiveness. He is called Śipiviṣṭa (clothed with the rays of light) who envelops the earth with his rays of light (*mayukhaiḥ*).[2] He is mentioned with the Ādityas. The long strides which he takes, and the three steps by which he measures the universe, are also referred to.[3] He is described as supporting the earth, the heaven and all beings.[4]

One view holds that the three steps are the three periods of the Sun's course—his rise, culmination and setting. The other view is that Viṣṇu is the god who has manifested himself in the threefold form of fire, lightning and solar light on the earth. In the mid-region of the atmosphere and in the sky, Viṣṇu is also conceived of as *Ṛta* (Moral order or sacrifice—*Ṛtyas Garbham*), and is referred to as the leader in battle. He appears as the comrade and helper of Indra (*Indrasya Yauyah Sakhā*),[5] and he is ordered about by the latter.

Thus, we can say that in the beginning, Viṣṇu enjoyed only a minor status, and he was not conceived of as the sole god or the greatest god. But he began to gain importance in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas*, and during the epic-*paurāṇic* period, he rose to the rank of the Supreme Spirit. He is worshipped under the name of Nārāyaṇa in the times of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. The prominent position held by him in the Brāhmaṇic period is also manifest in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* where he is said to occupy the highest place among the gods.

Although Viṣṇu came to be looked upon by some as "the most excellent of the gods", he was, even in the Brāhmaṇic period, far from being regarded by any section of the Aryan people as the one God. And we do not find any reference to the Vaiṣṇava sect in early epic literature. In epic times Viṣṇu

grew to be the Supreme Spirit and Vāsudeva came to be identified with Viṣṇu. Heliodoros, the Greek ambassador, was a great devotee of Vāsudeva, the God of gods.[6] The *Bhīṣmaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* speaks of the supreme spirit as *Nārāyaṇa* who is Viṣṇu, and again Viṣṇu is identified with Vāsudeva. In the *Śāntiparva* we find that Kṛṣṇa[7] is identified with Viṣṇu and he is praised by Yudhiṣṭhira. Thus Viṣṇu became the God of Grace. Viṣṇu is identified with Nārāyaṇa in the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* also regards Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu as one and the same deity. This identification is also supported by the *Mahābhārata*.[8] And the three streams of religious thought, namely, the one flowing from Viṣṇu, the Vedic god at its source, another from Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and the philosophic god, and the third from Vāsudeva, the historic god, mingled together decisively and thus formed Vaiṣṇavism. In a word, Vaiṣṇavism is the name given to the *Bhakti* religion which recognises Viṣṇu as the Supreme Deity.

We have epigraphic records which show that Vaiṣṇavism was prevalent in the 2nd century B.C. The Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros, the Greek ambassador, who was a Bhāgavata, mentions the erection of a flag staff which had an image of Garuḍa at the top in honour of Vāsudeva. At the same place another Garuḍa column was erected by Gautamīputra in the excellent temple of Bhāgavata. The Ghosundi and Nanaghat inscriptions, too, speak of the adoration of Vāsudeva in the 1st century B.C. and the Morewell inscription speaks of Vaiṣṇaviras. About the 5th century A.D., a new epithet Parama Vaiṣṇava came into use.

By the time represented by the Osian sculptures, Vaiṣṇavism had devolped as a sect of Brāhmaṇism which recognised Viṣṇu as the Supreme Deity. By that time again ten incarnations of Viṣṇu had gained recognition, and some of them, like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, became favourite objects of worship.

Vaiṣṇava Iconography

The popularity of Vaiṣṇavism is reflected in the sculptures of Osian. We notice here the *chaturviṁśati-mūrtīs* of Viṣṇu as well as the images of his different incarnations.

If the present names of the temples at Osian give us a correct indication, the cult of Viṣṇu must have been very popular there. There are three temples named after Viṣṇu himself, and three others are known as Harihara temples. Unfortunately, at present there is no image inside the sanctum of any of these temples, but on the lintel of the door leading to the sanctum of all these temples, the centre is occupied by an image of Viṣṇu.

In addition to the images of Viṣṇu on the lintels mentioned above, we have a fairly large number of his images on the walls of the extant temples. These images are both of Viṣṇu and of his different incarnations.

Viṣṇu Images

The images of Viṣṇu are noticed in the three usual poses, i.e., standing (*sthānaka*), seated (*āsana*) and reclining (*śayana*).

Sthānaka or Standing Images

The standing images of Viṣṇu are quite alike, but they differ in respect of the attributes held in their hands. This is illustrated in the chart given below:

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	Abhaya	Gadā	Chakra	Śaṅkha
B	,,	,,	,,	,,
C	M (Mutilated)	,,	,,	,,
D	,,	,,	,,	,,
E	,,	,,	,,	,,
F	Varada	Padma	,,	,,
G	Abhaya	Gadā	,,	,,
H	Abhaya	,,	,,	,,

A. H.H.T. No. I, N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
B. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
C. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
D. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
E. S.M.T., Gallery, W. Wall.
F. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Door-lintel.
G. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
H. V.T. No. I, Roof of the Aṅta, Outer side.

Śaṅkha- and *Chakra-Purūṣas* are standing on either side of the deity holding their respective emblems in their right hand. It is interesting to note that in Harihara temple No. I and Viṣṇu temple No. II, *padmadhāriṇīs* are standing behind the Āyudha-Purūṣas, holding lotuses in their right hand. Their left hand rests on the *kaṭi*. Besides these, in Viṣṇu temple No. II, a pair of Vidyādharas are also to be noticed on each side of the deity. They are holding flower garlands in both their hands, as if they are coming to garland god Viṣṇu.

The description of the *sthānaka* image is found in the *Vaikhānasāgama, Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Agni Purāṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Matsya Purāṇa*. It is stated in these texts that the image of Viṣṇu should be sculptured with two, four, or eight hands. In the case of the four-handed image (the type represented at Osian), he should hold a *padma* and a *śaṅkha* in the two upper hands and the two lower hands should be placed on the heads of *chāmaradhāriṇī-gadādevī* and *chakra-purūṣa*;[9] or should hold a *gadā*, a *chakra*, a *śaṅkha* in three hands with the fourth in the *abhaya-mudrā*;[10] or a *chakra*, a *padma* in the right hands, and a *śaṅkha* and a *gadā* in the left hands;[11] or a *gadā*, a *padma*, a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra* in four hands.[12]

Furthermore the texts state that the image of Viṣṇu should be adorned with *kuṇḍalas, aṅgada, keyūras, kaṅkaṇas, kaṭi-sūtra, yajñopavīta, vanamālā* and *kaustubhamaṇi*.[13] A *prabhāmaṇḍala* should be behind his head.[14]

These texts also prescribe that goddess Pṛthvī should be standing in between the feet of the god. Besides her, Śrī, or Puṣṭi,[15] or Lakṣmī with *padma*, and Garuḍa[16] should also be represented. *Chāmara-dhāriṇī-gadādevī* and *chakra-purūṣa*, one on each side of the deity, should be standing.[17]

At Osian we notice only four-handed images of Viṣṇu in which he is shown holding the usual attributes as mentioned in the texts. We also notice the usual attendants by the side of the deity, but goddess Pṛthvī is not depicted in these images.

Āsana or Seated Images

The *āsana-mūrtīs* are of three varieties, as they show the god *yogāsana, lalitāsana*, or *garuḍāsana*.

The Yogāsana-Mūrtīs

At Osian we notice three *yogāsana-mūrtīs* of Viṣṇu. Of these one is two-handed, and the other two are four-handed.

In the case of the two-handed image, Viṣṇu is seen seated on a *padmāsana* in the *yoga-mudrā* pose. He is wearing a rosary around the neck; *chakra-* and *śaṅkha-purūṣas* are standing, respectively, to his right and left.[18]

The four-handed image in the Sachiyā Mātā temple has rosaries in the two upper hands, while the two lower hands are placed on the crossed legs in the *yoga-mudrā* pose. The Āyudha-Purūṣas are absent here.[19]

The second image of this variety is found in Harihara temple No. I. Here also the god is seated cross-legged on a *padmāsana*. In this image his two left hands hold a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*. The lower right hand is in the *varada-mudrā* and the upper right is mutilated. It differs from the two images described above, inasmuch as its hands are not in the *yoga-mudrā* pose as mentioned in the Āgamas.[20]

The image of *yogāsana* Viṣṇu has been described in the *Vaikhānasāgama* and *Siddhāratha Saṁhitā*. These texts state that it should have two or four hands. In the former case, his hands should be placed in the *yoga-mudrā*.[21] In the latter case, the two lower hands should be placed on his crossed legs in the *yoga-mudrā*, and the two upper hands should carry a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*.[22]

According to the former authority, the image of Viṣṇu should be seated on a *padmāsana* and should be adorned with *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras* and should have a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. It also states that the images of Śiva, Brahmā, Chandra, Sūrya, Sanaka and Sanatakumāra, Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhṛgu or Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhūmidevī (*Mahī*) should be depicted along with Viṣṇu as side images.[23] A large-sized *padma* and a *gadā* should be carved on either side of *yogāsana* Viṣṇu.[24]

Two out of the three images of *yogāsana* Viṣṇu at Osian differ in some respects from the description given in the texts. One of these is two-handed, and the other is four-handed. In the case of the two-handed image, side deities are missing. In the latter case, two of his hands are not placed in the *yoga-mudrā* and the large-sized *padma* and *gadā* are not represented on either side of him. The rest of the details conform to the description given in the texts.

Lalitāsana-Mūrtīs

Only three images of this variety have been found at Osian, and all of them are four-handed.

In this aspect, Viṣṇu is seated on a lotus seat in the *lalitāsana* pose. In Harihara temple No. II, the lower right hand is mutilated, the two upper hands have a *gadā* and a *chakra*, the remaining lower left is placed on the left thigh. He has the usual dress and ornaments.[25]

In Śiva temple No. I, the image of the same type retains the pose as described above. In this case the lower right hand fortunately survives. It is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and holds a lotus stalk. The attributes in the other hands are as described above.[26]

This type of image is also present in Viṣṇu temple No. II. He is seated on a lotus throne. Of the four hands, the two upper ones hold a *gadā* and a *chakra*, the lower right is broken, while the lower left is holding a *śaṅkha*.[27]

Garuḍāsana-Mūrtīs

Garuḍāsana-mūrtīs of Viṣṇu which we notice at Osian are eight in number. These images are almost identical in respect of ornamentation. The images found in Viṣṇu temple No. III and Harihara temple No. I are more interesting. In the former temple the *garuḍāsana* Viṣṇu is seen in the principal niche of the outer wall. It is the only big sculpture in the Osian group of temples. Here Garuḍa is carved elaborately. He has powerful wings and has also two hands. The right arm is half bent and the palm is somewhat upraised on which the right foot of Viṣṇu is resting. The left hand is also half bent and raised upwards to give support to the half-crossed left leg of the deity which rests on his shoulder. From the posture of Garuḍa, it appears that he is about to fly. In this image all the four hands of the deity are broken. Only the lower portion of the club is noticed which had been held by the broken upper right hand.[28]

In the latter temple, one of the principal niches of the subsidiary shrines contains an image of Viṣṇu riding on the back of Garuḍa in the *lalitāsana* pose. He has four hands holding a *gadā*, a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*, respectively, in three hands; while the fourth, the lower right, is in the *varada-mudrā*. Garuḍa is also depicted in human form as usual and has upright hair. Two *chāmaradhāriṇīs* are standing, one on

each side of the deity. In addition, we have a *darpaṇa-sundarī* standing on either side of the *chāmara-dhāriṇīs*. It seems that all of them are the attendants of Viṣṇu.[29]

The rest of the *garuḍāsana* images of Viṣṇu differ only in respect of the attributes held in their hands. This is illustrated in the chart given below:

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	M	Abhaya	Chakra	Kaṭi
B	Gadā	M	,,	Padma
C	M	,,	,,	Resting on knee
D	Abhaya	,,	M	Arm is mutilated, but śaṅkha is visible
E	,,	,,	,,	Śaṅkha
F	,,	,,	,,	M

A. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Door-lintel, Latāṭabiṁba.
B. Ibid., Jagatī, E. Wall.
C. Ibid., No. II, Jagatī, E. Wall.
D. Ibid., No. III, Door-lintel, Lalāṭabiṁba.
E. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Door-lintel, Lalāṭabiṁba.
F. Sardar Museum (Jodhpur). Here Viṣṇu is seated on Garuḍa, but not in the *lalitāsana* pose. His legs are half bent at the knee and rest on the palms of Garuḍa.

The description of the image of *garuḍāsana* Viṣṇu is found in the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Śilpasāra*. These texts enjoin that the image of Viṣṇu should have either four or eight hands. The four-handed image should hold a *bāṇa*, a *dhanuṣa*, a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra* in the four hands.[30]

These texts say that Viṣṇu should be riding on a Garuḍa and his person should be adorned with *makarakuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *mekhalā*, *aṅgulīya*, *valaya*, *nūpuras*, *vanamālā*, *śrīvatsa*, *kaustubhamaṇi* and *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. He should be draped in yellow garments.[31]

The images which we have found at Osian are only four-handed. In these images we do not notice the bow and arrow as stated in the texts.

Śayana- or Śeṣaśāyī-Mūrtīs

We have an image of this variety in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. It shows the god lying down on the coils of *Ādiśeṣa* whose hoods serve as a canopy over his head. He possesses four hands; the lower right hand is resting on a *padma* over his heart; the upper right hand is holding a *chakra*; the lower left hand, bent at the elbow, is kept under the head giving support to it. The upper left hand is stretched out and rests on the thigh. This hand also holds a *śaṅkha*. Brahmā is seated on the lotus which is issuing from Viṣṇu's navel. The right leg of Viṣṇu, somewhat bent, lies on the serpent-bed, while the left leg is stretched out straight and rests on the lap of Bhūmidevī, who is seated on a high pedestal. The upper half portion of the reclining god is shown as somewhat raised on the coils of *Ādiśeṣa*. To the right of Brahmā and beyond the feet of Viṣṇu, two *ṛṣis* are standing. The right hand of each is in the *abhaya-mudrā* with an *akṣamālā*, while the left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. Both of them have *jaṭās* and *yajñopavīta*. A goddess is standing beyond the *nāga* canopy, to the right of the deity. Her left hand is in the *kaṭyavalaṁbita* pose, while her right hand holds a fan, as if she is waving it over the head of the deity. Above the deity, we notice two flying Vidyādharas holding garlands in their hands (Photograph 21).[32]

A small image of the same type is seen in Harihara temple No. I also. Here, too, the god is shown in a reclining position, but the coils of *Ādiśeṣa* are not very clearly noticed. He has four hands. The lower right hand is resting on the chest; the upper right hand is placed under the head; but a *gadā* is noticed in the middle of the arm, while the upper and lower left hands carry a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*. The right leg of the deity is stretched out and rests on the lap of Bhūdevī, who is massaging his leg,

while the left leg is bent. Brahmā is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which is issuing forth from the navel of Viṣṇu; but the image of Brahmā is mutilated. Garuḍa is standing near the feet of the deity with his hands in the *añjali-mudrā*. Above this, seven *ṛṣis* are seated in a line. The central figure is sculptured on a *padmāsana* with his right hand in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the left being broken off. On both the sides of the central figure, the other *ṛṣis*, probably *saptaṛṣis*, are sitting cross-legged with their right hands generally in the *abhaya-mudrā*, and their left hands holding a *kamaṇḍalu*.[33]

A description of the *yoga*, *bhoga*, *vīra* and *ābhichārika mūrtīs* of Viṣṇu is given in the *Vaikhānasāgama*; but only the characteristic features of the *bhoga-śayana mūrtīs* will be described, because we find only this type of image at Osian. Other texts, like the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Padma Purāṇa*, *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and *Rūpamaṇḍana*, also give the description of this image. It is also known as *padmanābha*[34] and *jalaśāyī*[35] in different texts. According to these latter texts, Viṣṇu should have either two or four hands. In the four-handed image (the type represented at Osian), one of his hands should be stretched straight and made to keep on the knee, the second one placed on the navel, the third under the head and the fourth with a *santāna-mañjarī*,[36] or one of his right hands should be placed on his head, the second placed on the heart, the third and fourth should have a *chakra* and a *gadā*,[37] or one of his right hands should be touching the head or be stretched out towards the head, and one of his left hands should be stretched parallel to the body and made to keep on the thigh. The description of the other two hands is not given in the texts.[38]

These texts add that Viṣṇu should be reclining on the Ādiśeṣa under his seven-hooded canopy. According to the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*, goddess Lakṣmī and Garuḍa in the *añjali-mudrā* should be near the feet, and Brahmā should be on the *nābhikamala* of Viṣṇu. The *saptaloka*, the Nāgadevīs, the ten incarnations should also be represented.[39] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* prescribes that Brahmā should be depicted on a *nābhipaṅkaja*; Śrī and Bhūmidevī, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, and *nidhi* and *astra* should be represented.[40] The *Vaikhānasāgama*, on the other hand, states that goddess Lakṣmī should be depicted near the shoulder of Viṣṇu, but goddess Bhūmidevī should be seated near his feet. Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhṛgu, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, in a militant pose, should also be present. Brahmā should be depicted on a *padma* issuing from the navel of Viṣṇu, having on his right side five *āyudha-purūṣas* and Garuḍa, and some minor gods should also be represented[41] or depicted on his either side.[42]

The attributes of the images of *śeṣaśāyī* Viṣṇu found at Osian usually conform to the description given in the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*; but they differ in respect of one attribute and the side depictions: (i) the *śaṅkha* is not mentioned in the text and (ii) the *saptaloka*, the ten incarnations and the Nāgadevīs are not noticed here as described in the text.

Chaturviṁśati-Mūrtīs

The *chaturviṁśati-mūrtīs* of Viṣṇu have been described in the *Padma Purāna*,[43] the *Agni Purāṇa*[44] and other later texts, namely, the *Chaturavargachintāmaṇi*,[45] the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*[46] and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.[47] These twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu are named as follows: Vāsudeva, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Purūṣottama, Adhokṣaja, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Achyuta, Upendra, Pradyumna, Trivikrama, Nṛsiṁha, Janārdana, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Aniruddha, Hṛṣikeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. All these are the well known names of Viṣṇu. They differ from one another only in respect of the order in which *śaṅkha*, *chakra*, *gadā* and *padma*, the usual attributes of Viṣṇu, are placed in the four hands of the god. The order in which the attributes are placed sometimes varies in the different texts.

At Osian, we notice the following ten forms of Viṣṇu:

	Names	*L.R.*	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	Keśava	Padma	Śaṅkha	Chakra	Gadā
B	Nārāyaṇa	Śaṅkha	Padma	Gadā	Chakra
C	Govinda	Chakra	Gadā	Padma	Śaṅkha
D	Viṣṇu	Gadā	Padma	Śaṅkha	Chakra
E	Trivikrama	Padma	Gadā	Chakra	Śaṅkha
F	Vāmana	Śaṅkha	Chakra	Gadā	Padma
G	Śrīdhara	Padma	Chakra	Gadā	Śaṅkha
H	Aniruddha	Chakra	Gadā	Śaṅkha	Padma
I	Hṛṣikeśa	Gadā	Chakra	M	Śaṅkha
J	Padmanābha	Śaṅkha	Padma	Chakra	Gadā

A. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Door-jamb, W. Side.
B. Ibid.
C. Ibid.
D. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Door-lintel, W. Corner.
E. Ibid., E. Corner.
F. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Door-jamb, E. Side.
G. Ibid.
H. Ibid., W. Side.
I. Ibid.
J. Ibid.

These ten images tally with the description given in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.

Incarnations of Viṣṇu

The incarnations of god Viṣṇu are described differently in different texts; but the most popular incarnations are ten in number; they were assumed by Viṣṇu on ten different occasions in order to destroy certain *asuras* and set right the wrong done to the world by them. These ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu are: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana including Trivikrama, Paraśurāma, Raghurāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki. Sometimes, Buddha is replaced by Balarāma. All these *avatāras* are frequently referred to in the later Sanskrit texts, like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.[48] Most of the incarnations have been depicted in the sculptures at Osian.

Kūrmāvatāra

The story of *Kūrmāvatāra* is given in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. According to it, Viṣṇu took the form of a *Kūrma* for supporting on its back the mountain employed in the churning of the ocean to obtain the *amṛta* or ambrosia for the gods.[49] The image of this *avatāra* is generally worked out in a form which is half-man and half-tortoise, the lower part being that of the tortoise. This image has four hands, two of which carry a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra*, while the other two are held in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses.[50]

At Osian, no independent representation of *Kūrmāvatāra* has been depicted as is the case in the temples at Khajuraho.[51] There is one scene of the churning of the ocean in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. In it on the back of a tortoise (*kūrma*) a big churning vessel is placed in which the churning stick is placed. Round it is wound a snake-rope, which is held by the *devas* and the *asuras* on either side. While only one demon has been shown holding the snake on its hood side, the other side is shown as being held by many gods, viz., Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Sūrya, Indra, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. God Śiva is holding the tail of the snake with his lower hands, while the upper two hands are shown as holding a *triśūla* and a *sarpa*. The lower hands of all the gods, except Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, are shown holding the snake-rope. The upper hands of Viṣṇu are shown with a *gadā* and a *chakra*; Brahmā with a *sruva* and a *padma*; Sūrya with two *padmas* and Indra with an *aṅkuśa* and a *vajra*; Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are shown as two-handed gods pulling the snake with both their hands (Photograph 24).[52]

Varāhāvatāra

The story of this incarnation is given in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[53] According to it, Viṣṇu incarnated himself as *Varāha* for uplifting the earth that had been submerged in water and also to punish the Chief Hiraṇyākṣa.[54] The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Liṅga Purāṇa* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, however, mention Brahmā as the uplifter of the earth from the ocean.[55]

In this incarnation he is depicted either as a boar or his face is only like that of a boar, while the rest of the body is in human form. Bhūmidevī is shown sitting or standing on one of the four arms of the god. Usually one of the legs of god Viṣṇu rests on the heads of Ādiśeṣa.

The sculptured figures of this deity are of three varieties, viz., (i) Bhūvarāha, Ādivarāha, or Nṛvarāha, (ii) Yajñavarāha and (iii) Pralayavarāha.[56] Of these three, only Nṛvarāha is depicted with the image of the goddess Pṛthvī. At Osian we have only one type, viz., Nṛvarāha.

Nine four-armed images of the god have been found here. The lower right hand of the god, except in two cases (which are mutilated), rests on his *kaṭi*. The upper right hand holds a *gadā* but in one case it holds a *chakra*, and in another it is mutilated. The upper left hand holds a *chakra* in five cases and a *śaṅkha* in four cases. The lower left hand holds a *śaṅkha* in two cases and a *chakra* in three cases. The goddess Pṛthvī is seated on the elbow of the upper left arm of the god in five cases and stands on the palm of his lower left hand in four cases, as indicated in the chart given below:

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	Kaṭyavalaṁbita	Gadā	Pṛthvī seated on the elbow, and a chakra in his hand	Śaṅkha
B	,,	,,	Pṛthvī seated on the elbow with a śaṅkha in his hand	Chakra
C	,,	,,	,,	(Photograph 22)
D	,,	,,	,,	,,
E	,,	,,	Pṛthvī seated on the elbow with a chakra in his hand	Śaṅkha
F	M	,,	Chakra	Pṛthvī standing on his palm
G	Kaṭyavalaṁbita	,,	,,	Pṛthvī standing on his elbow
H	M	M	,,	Pṛthvī standing on his palm
I	Kaṭyavalaṁbita	Chakra	Śaṅkha	,,

A. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, S. Wall.
B. S.M.T., Gallery, W. Wall.
C. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
D. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
E. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
F. H.H.T. No. II, Jagatī, S. Wall.
G. Sūrya Temple, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
H. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
I. S.M.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.

In all the images, the boar-faced Viṣṇu is only looking at the Earth goddess, and not smelling her, as mentioned in the texts. His right leg, stretched behind, firmly rests on the earth, while the left is flexed at the knee and is placed upon the interlinked serpentine tails of a Nāga and a Nāginī (Ādiśeṣa and his consort). The Nāga and the Nāginī are depicted in human form above the *kaṭi*, while their lower parts are serpentine and entwined with each other. A *nāga* canopy is seen above their heads. Garuḍa is standing in the *añjali-mudrā* on the right side of god Viṣṇu. In the Sachiyā Mātā temple (Photograph 22) and in Viṣṇu temple No. III, a lotus leaf has been placed on the head of the god. A lotus bud is also noticed below near his right leg. It seems to represent *pātālaloka* symbolically. The Earth goddess has been carved beautifully and is adorned with all suitable ornaments.

The image of Nṛvarāha has been described in the *Vaikhānasāgama*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, etc. According to these texts, he should have either two or four arms. The four-armed image (the type represented at Osian) should have a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra* in two of his hands; one of his left hands should be supporting the feet of Bhūmidevī and the corresponding right should be placed round the waist of the goddess,[57] or three of his hands should carry a *padma*, a *chakra* and a *gadā*, respectively, while the fourth holding a *śaṅkha* should be shown supporting the goddess.[58]

These texts also mention the position of his legs. One of his legs should be resting on Ādiśeṣa who may have two[59] or four hands.[60] Alternatively, Ādiśeṣa may be represented near the feet of Viṣṇu, either alone[61] or in the company of his wife.[62]

The goddess Bhūmidevī should always be represented with two hands. She should be depicted with her hands in the *añjali-mudrā*.[63] Her person should be adorned with all sorts of ornaments.

The images, which we have noticed at Osian, are four-handed and conform to the description given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, but the *padma* is not represented in any hand of the god, and Ādiśeṣa is depicted with only two hands.

Nṛsiṁhāvatāra

In *Nṛsiṁhāvatāra*, Viṣṇu punished the Asura chief Hiraṇyakaśipu and saved his devotee, Prahlāda, the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu. The story of this *avatāra* is given in different texts, such as the *Kūrma*, *Vāyu*, *Padma*, and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas*.[64] In this incarnation he is depicted with the face of a lion, the lower portion of the body being human. He is shown as tearing open the belly of the Asura chief, Hiraṇyakaśipu.

The images of the ferocious faced Nṛsiṁha which have been found at Osian have four, six or eight hands. In all these images, the deity is shown as tearing open the belly of Hiraṇyakaśipu, who is lying on his right or left thigh. Their description is as follows.

Four-Handed Images

These represent Viṣṇu in human form with the face of a lion. His right leg, bent at the knee, and the thigh are supporting the supine body of the Asura chief, Hiraṇyakaśipu. Viṣṇu is tearing open his belly with claws of his two lower hands, the two upper hands are upraised, but their claws are broken. The left leg is stretched straight, and the foot rests on the pedestal. To the left side of the god, one male figure is standing in the *añjali-mudrā*. Two *chāmaradhāriṇīs*, one on each side of the deity, are noticed.[65]

The other four-handed image of the man-lion form of Viṣṇu has been found on the outer wall of Harihara temple No. II. All its hands are broken. In this image, the right leg of the god is stretched straight, while the left, bent at the knee, rests on the demon's body and on the same thigh the disembowelled supine body of Hiraṇyakaśipu is lying helplessly. In this case the face of the deity looks ferocious, so we call it *vikrālamukha*. Two demons, one on each side of the deity, are standing. The right one has a *khaḍga* and a *kheṭaka*, while the left one holds a *gadā* with both his hands, as if they are trying to attack the god. The deity has a heavy mane on his head coming down to the shoulders.[66]

In the third four-handed image of Nṛsiṁha, the two lower hands are ripping open the abdomen of Hiraṇyakaśipu; but their claws and the other hands have been mutilated. Below his left leg, a demon is lying on his belly, his right hand holding a sword, while the left is concealed from view.[67]

Another image of Nṛsiṁha has been found in the gallery of the Sachiyā Mātā temple. In this image, he is holding a *gadā* and a *chakra* in his two upper hands, while the two lower hands are as usual tearing open the stomach of Hiraṇyakaśipu.[68]

Six-Handed Images

In this image also the body of Hiraṇyakaśipu is lying supine on the bent left thigh of the god. He is ripping open his belly with the two lower hands; the middle right hand holds a lock of the demon's

hair; the upper right is uplifted as if he is going to hit the Asura chief. Of the two remaining hands, one is resting on his own chest, while with the other he is grasping the left leg of the Asura. The Asura chief is holding a shield in his right hand, the left being concealed from view. His head hangs down in a helpless manner. A male figure is lying flat below the right foot of Nṛsiṁha as we have noticed in the four-handed variety. One more male figure is seated on his right side.[69]

Eight-Handed Images

In this form also Nṛsiṁha is shown in the standing pose. His facial expression is suggestive of extreme anger. He has eight hands. Of these, the first and the fifth (clockwise, beginning with the lower right hand) are tearing open the belly of Hiraṇyakaśipu, his fourth and sixth are upraised, the third and the seventh hold a *chakra*. The remaining two have been broken off. The right leg of the god is straight, the left is bent and the thigh supports the body of the Asura chief. Two demons are standing on the right side with swords in their hands, as if they are trying to assault the god.[70]

There is another standing image of the deity in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. He stands on a pedestal as usual. This image is very impressive and energetic. Hiraṇyakaśipu lies helplessly on Nṛsiṁha's right thigh, the leg being bent at the knee and resting on the chest of the Apsamārapurūṣa. The left leg is firmly planted on the pedestal. He has eight arms, of which one right hand holds a lock of the demon's hair and one of his left hands holds his left leg. One right hand and one left are busy in taking out the bowels from the open belly of the Asura chief (only claws are visible; the upper parts of the hands have been broken). The other arms are also broken. Two demons are seated near the right leg of the god; one of them is armed with a *khaḍga* and a *kheṭaka*, the other is in a grovelling pose (Photograph 23).[71] Another eight-handed image is sculptured on the facade of Viṣṇu temple No. III. His first hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right) holds the hair of the demon, the second and the sixth are tearing open the belly of the Asura chief who lies on his right thigh; the other five hands are broken. Male figures are sculptured to the right and left of the god; but they are badly mutilated.[72]

Nṛsiṁha-mūrti is described in three forms, viz., the Girijā-Nṛsiṁha or Kevala-Nṛsimha, Sthauṇa-Nṛsiṁha and Yānaka-Nṛsiṁha. In the first case, the god should be represented alone as seated on a *siṁhāsana* in the *utkuṭikāsana* pose or in the *lalitāsana* pose.[73] In the second case he should be represented as ripping open the belly of Hiraṇyakaśipu,[74] while in the third case he should be depicted as riding either on the shoulders of Garuḍa or on Ādiśeṣa.[75] Besides these, at other places there are a few images of Nṛsiṁha with Lakṣmī in the *āliṅgana-mudrā*, which Gopinatha Rao has identified as Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha.[76-77]

Vāmanāvatāra

At Osian prominence has been given to his Trivikrama form. The figure of Vāmana (the Dwarf) appears only at the corner of the panel along with Trivikrama,[78] but no independent image of Vāmana has been found here as we find at Khajuraho.[79] Here in one of the images Vāmana is holding an umbrella with his left hand, while his right is resting on his stomach. In another composition Vāmana appears with a *daṇḍa* in his left hand and the right arm is mutilated below the elbow.

Four-Handed Images

The four-handed images have all the hands preserved and are sculptured on the facade of Harihara temple Nos. I and III.[80] They have a *gadā*, a *chakra*, a *śaṅkha* in three hands, while the lower right hand is either in the *kaṭyavalaṁbita* pose or holds a *padma*. In the other images, one, two or even three hands are mutilated. The surviving hands have the usual attributes. The lower right hand of these images is seen either on the waist or on the chest, or holds a *padma*. The right leg of the god is usually firmly planted on the earth, while the left is upraised, as if measuring the sky. The left foot is seen into the open mouth

of Rāhu. In Harihara temple No. I, we notice the head of a horse to the right of the deity, which is suggestive of *Aśvamedhayajña*. Below the horse, a male person is seated, who has caught hold of the right leg of the deity. On the left side there are certain attendants and the dwarfish figure of Vāmana. Another person, maybe Bali, is pouring water from a *ghaṭa* as an ablution. The above statement will be clear from the following chart:

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	Rests on thigh with a padma	Gadā	Chakra	Śaṅkha
B	Padma	,,	,,	M
C	,,	,,	,,	Śaṅkha
D	M	,,	,,	,,
E	Rests on chest	,,	,,	M
F	M	,,	M	,,

A. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall; cf. *JIH*, Vol. 43, pp. 847-48.
B. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
C. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
D. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
E. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
F. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.

Eight-Handed Images

There is only one such image which is sculptured in the Satyanārāyaṇa temple. The image has a big halo at the back of his head. The tense right leg of Trivikrama is pressing the earth, while his left leg is raised up to the level of the forehead and rests in the mouth of Rāhu. Four of his right hands carry a *padma*, a *gadā*, a *khaḍga* and a *bāṇa*; the four left hands carry a *chakra*, a *kheṭaka*, a *dhanuṣa* and a *śaṅkha*. To the right of the god the queen of Bali is standing with a *padma* and a *chaurī* in her hands. A male person seated on the same side has grasped the right leg of the deity with both hands. To the left of the god we have a dwarfish figure with an umbrella raised over his head and the figure of Bali holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in his left hand as if to pour water as a token of his gift. Two other male figures are shown seated with folded hands and bowing their heads to Viṣṇu. Above the head of Trivikrama four gods are seen seated on their usual *vāhanas*. Of these, one is Śiva seated on Nandī; the second is Sūrya holding two lotuses in his two hands; the third figure is not clear; and the fourth one is Brahmā, though not very distinct. Vidyādharas are noticed with garlands in their hands. In all these images Vāmana is represented in the guise of a *brahmachārin*.[81]

In Harihara temple No. I, Vāmana is putting on only a *dhotī* which hardly covers his thighs.[82] In Harihara temple No. II and other temples, he is putting on a scarf also thrown over his shoulders.[83]

Vāmana images are of two types: (1) Vāmana and (2) Virāṭa (Trivikrama) forms of Viṣṇu measuring with the three steps. Both types are described in the texts. The images of Vāmana and Trivikrama have been described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Vaikhānasāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, etc. In the former case, he should have two arms holding either a *chhatra* and a *daṇḍa*,[84] or a *chhatra* and a *kamaṇḍalu*[85] or a *daṇḍa* and engaged in studying (a book).[86]

In the latter case, he should be represented with four, six or eight hands. In the four-handed image (the type represented at Osian), either two of his upper hands should hold a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra*, and one of his right hands should be held in the *abhaya* or *varada-mudrā*, while one of his left hands should be stretched out parallel to the raised left leg.[87] In the eight-handed image, five of his hands should carry a *chakra*, a *śaṅkha*, a *gadā*, a *śārṅga* and a *hala* and, of the other three hands, two should be in the *abhaya-* and *varada-mudrā* and the third should be stretched parallel to the outstretched left leg.[88]

These texts prescribe that Indra should be depicted with an umbrella raised over the head of the god. *Chāmaradhārī* Varuṇa, Vāyu, Sūrya, Chandra, Sanaka and Sanatakumara should be depicted. Brahmā should be shown holding the upraised foot of Trivikrama with one of his hands and should be washing

it with water from his *kamaṇḍalu* which should be held in his other hand; Śiva, Asura, Namuchi, Garuḍa, Śukra should be represented as pouring water as a token of their gift. Jāmbavanta should be depicted as playing on the drum.[89]

These texts further mention that the figure of Vāmana should be small and pot-bellied. He should wear a *kṛṣṇa-ajiñopavīta*,[90] *mekhalā*, and should be clad in *kaupīna*.[91]

At Osian the images of Vāmana are always shown holding either a *chhatra* or a *daṇḍa* in one of their hands; but they are not depicted with both *chhatra* and *daṇḍa* in their hands, as described in the different texts. In the case of the four-handed images of Trivikrama, the *abhaya* or the *varada* and the parallel hands, as mentioned in the texts, are not noticed here. Some of the attributes such as a *padma*, a *khaḍga*, a *kheṭaka* and a *bāṇa* are not mentioned in the texts, which, however, prescribe a *hala*, *abhaya*, *varada* and the fourth arm parallel to the raised left leg. Moreover, some of the side figures, as mentioned in the texts, are not present here. The rest of the details are as discussed above.

Though we do not notice any image of Rāma at Osian, there is one panel which represents an episode of his expedition, viz., the *Setu-bandha*.[92]

Kṛṣṇāvatāra

Kṛṣṇa is known as the eighth son of Vāsudeva and Devakī. His life history is fully described in the various *Purāṇas*, the *Harivaṁśa* and in other texts also. Some of the *Purāṇas* expressly mention Kṛṣṇa as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.[93]

The Osian temples depict Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes on the friezes of their *aṁtarāla* and also on the friezes of the facades of the main temples. These scenes can briefly be noted as: the birth and removal to Gokula, stealing the butter, Putanā-vadha, Śakaṭa-bhaṁga, Tṛṇāvartta-vadha, Yamalārjuna-uddhāra, Vatsāsura-vadha, Dhenukā-vadha, Kāliya-damana, Govardhana-dhāraṇa, Ariṣṭāsura-vadha, Keśī-vadha, Kubalayāpīḍa-vadha, and Malla-yuddha. Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes have also been depicted on other Indian temples, from Kashmir to Mahabalipuram, and Bengal to Saurashtra.[94]

The Birth and Removal to Gokula

This scene is noticed with certain identical details in five temples. In Harihara temple No. I, we notice the newly-born Kṛṣṇa lying beside his mother, Devakī, on a bed. She is lying on her side facing the baby, with her left hand placed on its chest. The baby is sucking the mother's breast. In Viṣṇu temple No. I, a *chāmaradhāriṇī* is standing behind Devakī. She seems to be waving it over her head.

Subsequently, we notice Vāsudeva standing near the prison gate holding the child with both his hands. The prison guard has also been represented on the outer side of the gate.

In an adjacent niche we notice another woman standing with a child. She appears to be Yaśodā to whom Vāsudeva has handed over Kṛṣṇa and taken over her newly-born daughter.[95]

Almost identical scenes are noticed in Harihara temple No. II, Viṣṇu temple No. I, and the Sachiyā Mātā temple. In Harihara temple No. II, the armed guard is clearly dozing and Vāsudeva comes out from the prison unnoticed by him,[96] while in Viṣṇu temple No. I, the jail gates are shown wide open.[97] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, the houses of Mathura are visible at a distance. In the next panel, the river Yamunā has been symbolically represented with waves, flowers and leaves. Subsequently, Vāsudeva is shown handing over the child to Nanda, and then we are presented with a scene of Nandagrāma with cows and village houses. It is one of the most interesting scenes in the Osian group of temples and we do not come across such a scene anywhere else (Photograph 25).[98]

Stealing Butter

In Harihara temple No. I, Kṛṣṇa is depicted as stealing butter from an earthen pot. He is standing near the pot; his right hand is placed on it as if trying to take out the butter therefrom, while the left

hand appears to be giving support to the right arm. His face is uplifted and is watching his parents. Nanda is seated on a pedestal and Yaśodā is standing beside him. She is attentively looking at her baby, who is busy in his task. She holds a plate in her left hand; but the right hand has an indistinct object.[99] A somewhat similar scene is noticed in Harihara temple Nos. II (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1)[100] and III[101] and Viṣṇu temple No. I.[102] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, Yaśodā is represented as churning butter in an earthen vessel, and Nanda is seated on a low seat; while the child Kṛṣṇa is shown seated near the vessel as if he is going to take out the butter from it. In this temple he is not depicted as actually taking out butter, as we notice in the temples described above.[103]

Putanā-Vadha

This scene is noticed in several of the Osian temples and in each case the details are almost identical, i.e., the demoness Putanā is shown seated on a high pedestal and the baby Kṛṣṇa is standing near her and is holding her breasts and is sucking her poisonous teats. The pain inflicted by baby Kṛṣṇa is vividly shown through contortions on her face, her eyes are sunken in the sockets and her breasts are hanging downwards due to the pull exerted by the baby Kṛṣṇa. Putanā's legs are stretched apart and her arms are extended upwards and she is begging Kṛṣṇa to spare her life.[104]

Śakata-Bhaṅga

This scene is noticed in several temples, as stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[105] We notice in the Sachiyā Mātā temple Kṛṣṇa lying under a cart and is shown in the act of overturning it with his raised right leg, while his left leg is folded and rests on a couch on which he was lying. He is adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *valayas* and has curly hair on his head. Kṛṣṇa is draped in a *dhotī* which is fastened with a *mekhalā*.[106]

The depiction of this scene can be seen in other temples also.[107] There, too, he is lying on a couch under the cart; two birds are seen perched on the earthen pots placed on it. They are probably eating curd out of them. His right leg is raised as usual for pushing up the cart and the left one is half folded and rests on the couch. But the posture of his arms is different; the left arm is giving support to his head, while the right one is hanging down straight. An astonished lady, probably Yaśodā, is standing by and looking at him. She is holding some indistinct object in her hands.[108]

Tṛṇāvartta-Vadha

One panel contains a beautiful scene of Tṛṇāvartta-vadha, as stated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[109] Here Kṛṣṇa is seated on the shoulders of the ferocious-faced demon, Tṛṇāvartta. The latter has caught his feet tightly. The demon is kneeling on both his knees on the ground. Kṛṣṇa has also caught the demon's lock of hair with his left hand, while the right hand is raised, as if he is going to hit him. He has curly hair and is adorned with the usual ornaments. He is wearing a *dhotī* which is fastened with a simple *mekhalā*.[110] This scene is quite similar to those in the Khajuraho temples.[111]

In Harihara temple No. I, the demon is standing with Kṛṣṇa and trying to pull him back. Another scene shows that the demon has caught him tightly with his left hand, while his right hand is resting on the earth which helps him to fly. Kṛṣṇa has also caught him by his neck with the right hand. The left hand is holding an indistinct object.[112]

In Harihara temple No. II, at first the demon is trying to pull Kṛṣṇa back. In a subsequent scene Kṛṣṇa is shown seated on his back and the demon is kneeling on the ground on his right knee. His left leg is bent at the knee with the foot planted on the ground. His right hand is also on the ground to help him stand up.[113]

In Harihara temple No. III, there is another scene which differs from the two above. First, Kṛṣṇa and the demon are sculptured in a standing posture. The left hand of Kṛṣṇa rests on the shoulders of

the demon. Later on, he is shown seated on the back of Tṛṇāvartta and has caught hold of his neck with his hands.[114]

In Viṣṇu temple No. I, Tṛṇāvartta is standing in front of Kṛṣṇa and looking towards him. Kṛṣṇa has placed his left hand on the left shoulder of the demon, and from the raised right hand, it appears as if he is going to hit him. In a subsequent scene Kṛṣṇa is seen standing with Tṛṇāvartta. The demon (Tṛṇāvartta) is holding Kṛṣṇa's waist tightly and he has entangled his own left leg in Kṛṣṇa's right leg. The hands of Kṛṣṇa are uplifted as if trying to strangle the demon's neck.[115]

Yamalārjuna-Uddhāra

According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[116] the two sons of Kuvera, viz., Nakula and Manigrīva, became the two trees, named Yamala and Arjuna. In the Sachiyā Mātā temple the scene shows Kṛṣṇa tying up a *udkhala* round the two trees and his own waist, by which he was probably able to uproot the two trees. He is seated under the trees which are held fast with his two hands. The front part of his body is concealed from view, only the back is visible; consequently the dress and ornaments are not very clearly visible except for the *dhotī*.[117]

In Harihara temple No. I, the two *yamalārjuna* trees are standing and in front of these Kṛṣṇa is shown squatting, his legs bent at the knees. He is plucking the leaves with his right hand, while the left arm is bent and is resting on his chest.[118] In Viṣṇu temple No. I also, Kṛṣṇa is depicted similarly.[119]

In Harihara temple Nos. II and III, the depiction of the uprooting of the trees is somewhat different from that of the above temple. Here, Kṛṣṇa is shown seated in the shade of the trees, and looking to the front and he is clasping them with his right hand, while the left is busy in plucking their leaves.[120]

Vatsāsura-Vadha

The scene of Vatsāsura-vadha is portrayed on the eastern wall of Harihara temple No. I. We notice Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma engaged in fighting with the demon who is in the form of a calf. On the extreme left of the panel, there is a tree which is suggestive of the locality where the encounter took place. Kṛṣṇa has caught hold of the *asura* by one of his hind legs and his tail and lifted him bodily with his face touching the ground. As narrated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[121] the panel also shows that Kṛṣṇa had flung the *asura* on the tree from which he fell down. Balarāma, who is standing behind the *asura*, is aiming a blow at the *asura* with his *hala*. Two other human figures represent the associates of Kṛṣṇa, one of whom is holding some weapon.[122]

The combat between Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma and Vatsāsura is also depicted in Harihara temple Nos. II[123] and III (Photograph 26)[124] and Viṣṇu temple No. I[125] in a somewhat different manner.

Dhenukā-Vadha

The story of Dhenukā-vadha has been described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma encountered the ass-demon, Dhenukā, and after two attacks by the demon, Balarāma killed it.[126] At Osian, on the other hand, we find Kṛṣṇa depicted as the hero. In Harihara temple No. I, Kṛṣṇa is standing in front of the ass-demon (Dhenukā) who is standing on his two hind legs. Kṛṣṇa has caught hold of its two front legs. Balarāma, with a *hala* in the right hand and the left resting on his *kaṭi*, is standing *tribhaṅga* behind Kṛṣṇa.[127] In Harihara temple No. III, the demon is lying on the ground. Kṛṣṇa has planted his left foot on the demon's nape and caught hold of the demon's two front legs with both his hands. The pressure exerted by Kṛṣṇa on the demon's legs has caused the demon's eyes to protrude. Balarāma, *hala* in his hands, is standing behind Kṛṣṇa.[128] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, Kṛṣṇa has grasped the two hind legs and the tail of the *asura* with his left hand as if he is going to whirl it round his head. The front legs of the demon are bent inwards and its mouth is touching the earth.[129]

Kāliya-Damana

The punishment of Kāliya by Lord Kṛṣṇa has been described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[130] Kṛṣṇa defeated and killed the terrible serpent Kāliya which lived in the Yamunā. Gopinath Rao says, "This most probably refers to Kṛṣṇa abolishing the original cult of serpent worship."[131]

The scene of Kāliya-damana has been carved very skilfully on the friezes of Harihara temple No. I. This scene is depicted in two parts. First (2nd panel from the right), Kṛṣṇa is shown climbing a Kadamba tree. He looks like an infant and a scarf is wound round his waist. Next, Kṛṣṇa jumps into the river Yamunā. He is noticed fighting with the serpent Kāliya. The upper part of Kāliya is in human form and the lower is serpentine. He has a three-hooded canopy over his head, which symbolises his serpenthood, and he is adorned with the usual ornaments. Kāliya raises his body in order to attack Kṛṣṇa, but Kṛṣṇa has his waist and legs entwined with the tail of Kāliya and catches his hands with his left hand, while the right arm is lifted as if he is going to hit Kāliya. The second part (3rd panel) shows that Kṛṣṇa places his left leg on the left shoulder of Kāliya to press him down, while the right one is folded at the knee and rests on the tail of Kāliya. Kṛṣṇa has caught hold of Kāliya's nose-band with his left hand, while the right hand is upraised holding the tail of the serpent. Kāliya, losing his balance, comes down on his haunches. He is seen in the *añjali-mudrā*. Seeing his severe pain, two wives of Kāliya are greatly distressed. They stand, one on each side of Kṛṣṇa, with their heads bowed and their palms folded. Here two female figures are standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose to the left of the Nāginī, who is standing to the left of Kāliya. Their right hands rest on their chest, the left hands are raised up to their shoulders and are holding their scarfs. They might be Vrajavāsinīs, while two male figures, holding lotus stalks in their hands, and shown on the right side of the Nāginī who is standing to the right of Kṛṣṇa, appear to be Vrajavāsīs (Photograph 27).[132]

An almost similar scene is noticed in Harihara temple Nos. II[133] and III,[134] the Sachiyā Mātā temple and Viṣṇu temple No. I with a few differences in the case of the last two temples. In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, first, Kṛṣṇa is shown sitting on a branch of the Kadamba tree as if he is going to jump into the river. Secondly (in the second part of the scene), Kṛṣṇa is seated on the head of Kāliya with his legs hanging downwards and the feet placed on lotus buds. His right hand holds something long, but indistinct and is upraised as if he is going to hit Kāliya with it, while the left hand is placed on the hoods of the serpent. Kāliya is seen in the *añjali-mudrā* and facing front. Thirdly, the river Yamunā has been symbolically represented by lotuses with stalks. The rest of the scene is similar to Harihara temple No. I, as described above.[135]

In Viṣṇu temple No. I, first, Kṛṣṇa has his legs entangled with the tail of Kāliya, while in the other temples he has his waist and legs entwined with the tail of Kāliya. Second (in the second part of the scene), both his legs are bent; the left foot is just seen behind Kāliya, while the right rests on the ground.[136]

The Nāginīs differ in number in different temples. In Harihara temple Nos. II and III and Viṣṇn temple No. I, Vrajavāsinīs and Vrajavāsīs are totally absent.

Govardhana-Dhāraṇa

The story of Govardhana-dhāraṇa has been described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[137] Lord Kṛṣṇa lifted up the Govardhana mountain with the little finger of one of his hands with perfect ease to give shelter to the cowherds and their kin and save them from the deluge, when he saw them tormented with showers of hail and rain caused by Indra.

In Harihara temple No. I, the left hand of Kṛṣṇa is supporting the mountain which he has lifted and his right hand is on his thigh to give him support. His left leg is straight, while the right leg is a little slanting, and both his feet are firmly planted on the ground. He is slightly bent at the waist towards the right. A pair of cows and bulls are standing on his either side. A figure, maybe that of Balarāma, is seen to the left of Kṛṣṇa. He is also supporting the mountain with his right hand.[138] In

Harihara temple No. II, the scene is somewhat similar to the one described above; but with the difference that a lady is standing in astonishment to the right side of Kṛṣṇa.[139] In Harihara temple No. III, Balarāma, holding a *hala* in his right hand and his left hand resting on his left thigh, is standing *tribhaṅga* to the left of Kṛṣṇa. He has a *nāga*-canopy over his head.[140] In Viṣṇu temple No. I, three animal figures are shown on either side of Kṛṣṇa; but in this case the human figures as we notice in the scenes described above are missing.[141]

In the Sachiyā Mātā temple Kṛṣṇa is standing and supporting the mountain with his left hand, his right hand is resting on his right thigh. On either side of Kṛṣṇa there is a Vrajavāsī supporting the mountain with both his hands. A cow and a bull are also standing on either side in front of the Vrajavāsīs. They appear to be looking at Kṛṣṇa with wonder.[142]

This scene marks the growing popularity of the Kṛṣṇa cult and the waning popularity of the Indra cult in ancient India.

Ariṣṭāsura-Vadha

The story of Ariṣṭāsura-vadha is given in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[143] The episode of the slaying of the bull-demon Ariṣṭāsura is sculptured in four of our temples. In Harihara temple No. I, we notice Kṛṣṇa engaged in fighting with the bull-demon. He has caught hold of the tail of Ariṣṭa with his left hand, the right hand is upraised, as if he is going to hit him. A man is standing behind the bull with an indistinct weapon in his hands and aiming a blow at the bull-demon.[144]

In Harihara temple No. II, Kṛṣṇa has caught hold of the mouth of the bull with his left hand. The bull is standing on its two hind legs, while the two front legs have been bent inwards. The right hand of Kṛṣṇa is upraised as in the above case. A man, holding a staff, is standing behind the bull and aiming a blow at it.[145]

The Ariṣṭāsura-vadha in Viṣṇu temple No. I has been carved in a somewhat different form. Here, Kṛṣṇa is standing in the *sambhaṅga* pose holding the front legs of the bull with his left hand, while the right hand has caught hold of its two hind legs. The right foot of Kṛṣṇa is firmly pressing the neck of the bull-demon. One male figure, holding a staff in his right hand, is standing behind the bull, but his left hand has some indistinct object. Balarāma, having a *hala* in his right hand, is standing behind the male figure, while the left hand is raised.[146]

Keśī-Vadha

The story of the slaying of *Keśī*, the horse-demon, has been described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[147] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, one of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā panels contains an interesting depiction of this scene. The right foot of Kṛṣṇa is firmly planted on the ground, while the left leg, slightly bent on the knee, also rests on the ground. His right hand is raised up, as if going to hit the horse-demon, while the left elbow is inserted in the mouth of the *asura* who is standing in front of him on his two hind legs. His two front legs are bent inwards. Balarāma is standing *tribhaṅga* behind Kṛṣṇa. He has a *hala* in his right hand and the left rests on his *kaṭi*. A man standing behind Balarāma is watching the struggle between Kṛṣṇa and Keśī.[148] A somewhat similar scene is noticed in the other temples also.[149]

Kubalayāpīḍa-Vadha

A detailed story of Kubalayāpīḍa-vadha is to be found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[150] The episode of Kubalayāpīḍa-vadha is represented in five of the temples at Osian. In Harihara temple No. II, the scene shows the elephant-demon furiously charging at Kṛṣṇa, who has caught hold of the right tusk of the demon with his left hand, and he is aiming a blow at it with his right hand. The elephant has entangled Kṛṣṇa's left leg with its trunk. A companion of Kṛṣṇa is seated on its neck striking it with an *aṅkuśa* held in his right hand. Another man is standing to the left of the elephant pressing its back with his left

elbow and his right arm is raised up as if aiming a blow. A third man stands behind the elephant pressing its rump with his left knee; his right arm is raised up aiming a blow, while his left elbow rests on his left knee adding pressure on the rump of the elephant, for the legs of the elephant have been bent as a result of this combined assault. Its tail also is bent, a sure sign of capitulation. A fourth figure is standing behind Kṛṣṇa. His right arm is raised up and his left hand is on his chest. It appears that he wanted to attack Kṛṣṇa, but Kṛṣṇa has held his blow in such a way as to make the man bend, suffering intense pain (Photograph 28).[151]

A similar scene is depicted in Harihara temple Nos. I and III. Here the elephant is represented in great fury. Kṛṣṇa is standing in front of it. He has caught hold of its right tusk with his left hand and is aiming a blow at it with his raised right hand and left foot, while the right leg is stretched behind and the foot is resting on the ground. The scene is similar to the one given above, except that the man on the neck of the elephant is absent.[152] In other temples also, Kubalayāpīḍa-vadha is depicted in a similar fashion.[153]

Malla-Yuddha

The depiction of the *Malla-yuddha*, the combat of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with Chāṇūra and Muṣṭaka, is one of the most interesting scenes in the Kṛṣṇa-līlā series at Osian. It is portrayed in an identical manner in Harihara temple Nos. I,[154] II[155] and III,[156] Viṣṇu temple No. I,[157] and in the friezes of the *aṅtarāla* ceiling of the Sachiyā Mātā temple.[158] Here Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are shown engaged in combats with the 'mallas' of Kaṁsa. Kṛṣṇa has entangled the left leg of his opponent with his right leg. Desirous of securing victory, each is trying to throw the other down on the ground. Likewise, Balarāma is also engaged in combat with another wrestler. The scene is a very vigorous one and the holds of the contestants show that the art of wrestling was highly developed in those days.

In the south-east shrine of the Sachiyā Mātā temple, two figures, most probably those of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, are depicted in the centre of its *aṅtarāla* ceiling. Kṛṣṇa is playing on a flute, while Rādhā is holding a lotus and gazing at him. They are sitting together and are surrounded by *Nāgas*.[159]

Garuḍāsana Kṛṣṇa

There are two images of *garuḍāsana* Kṛṣṇa. He is seated in the *lalitāsana* pose and is four-handed. In one case his lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the lower left is mutilated and the two upper hands hold a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*.[160] In the other case the lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the lower left hand holds a *śaṅkha* and the two upper hands carry a *gadā* and a *chakra*.[161] He is adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *vanamālās* and a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*.

Balarāmāvatāra

Certain iconographic texts regard Balarāma also as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Several images of his are noticed at Osian. In three images he is standing alone, and in one he is depicted standing with Revaṭī. In two cases he is seated on Garuḍa. The rest of his representations have been noticed in Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes. The description of these images is as follows.

Standing Images

In one of the independent images, Balarāma is standing *sambhaṅga* and holding a *hala* and a *mūsala* in the two upper hands. The lower right hand has been damaged, while the lower left hand rests on the top of the wine flask held by an attendant in his left hand (Photograph 31).[162]

In the second image, he is standing *tribhaṅga* and is holding a *sarpa* and a *mūsala* in the two upper hands; the lower right hand carries a *hala*, while the remaining lower left arm is bent at the elbow with

the hand near the chest. He is flanked by two *chaurī*-bearers, one, a female, and the other, a male. They are standing to the right and the left of the deity, respectively. A *nāga*-canopy is seen over his head.[163] The third image is similar to this one.[164]

Seated Images

Two *garuḍāsana* images of Balarāma have been found here. In the Sūrya temple, he is seated on Garuḍa. A five-hooded *nāga*-canopy is seen over his head. He holds a *hala* and a *mūsala* in the two upper hands, but the lower hands have been mutilated.[165] In another image, a canopy of serpent-hoods appears over his head. He holds a *hala* and a *chakra* in the two upper hands; but the two lower ones have been broken. In this case also he is shown seated on Garuḍa.[166]

Sūta-Romaharṣaṇa-Vadha

In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, the two-handed Balarāma is shown killing Sūta-Romaharṣaṇa. Sūta is shown seated on a high pedestal with his left leg bound to his waist with a *yogapaṭṭa*, while the right leg is hanging down with the foot resting on the ground. His right hand rests on his right leg and the left one is on the left leg. To his front Balarāma is standing with a *hala* in his hands. A canopy is seen over his head. He has put his *hala* on the neck of Sūta-Romaharṣaṇa to pull him down.[167]

In Harihara temple No. I, Sūta-Romaharṣaṇa is seated on a low seat with his legs folded at the knee, i.e., in the *utkuṭikāsana* pose, and the *yogapaṭṭa* goes round his waist and folded legs. Balarāma is standing in front of him with a snake canopy over his head and is holding in his hands a *hala* which has been placed on the neck of Sūta-Romaharṣaṇa. Vrajavāsīs are standing there witnessing the fight. The left leg of Balarāma is stretched behind and the right, bent at the knee, rests on the ground.[168]

In Harihara temple No. II, the right leg of Sūta-Romaharṣaṇa is folded and is kept on the pedestal; the left is bent at the knee and the heel rests on the edge of the pedestal. His left elbow rests on his left knee and his chin rests on the palm. Balarāma is standing to the left of Sūta-Romaharṣaṇa, having in both his hands the *hala* which is placed on the neck of Sūta-Romaharṣaṇa.[169]

Balarāma with Revatī

There is only one representation of Balarāma and Revatī in the *āliṅgana-mudrā*. He has four hands, the two upper hands hold a *hala* and a *chakra*; the lower right hand holds a *chaṣaka* and rests on the head of a female attendant, while with the remaining lower left arm he embraces Revatī standing to his left. The female attendant is standing to the right side of Balarāma and she is looking at him in wonder. Revatī holds a mirror in her left hand, while she has placed her right arm on the shoulder of her spouse. Balarāma has on his body the usual dress and ornaments. Revatī wears a *sārī* fastened by a *mekhalā*, and a *dupaṭṭā* which is thrown on the shoulders. She is adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas* and a *bendā* (Photograph 30).[170] R.C. Agrawala remarks about this depiction, "Their looks and amorous pose are extremely graceful and the existing depiction is very rare in the realm of the ancient Indian art."[171]

In all the independent images and in the *āliṅgana* image, Balarāma has a five- or seven-hooded snake canopy (Photographs 30 and 31) over his either unadorned head[172] or his *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*.[173] In the Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes his unadorned head has a *nāga* canopy. His body is adorned with *ekāvali*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *mekhalā*, *yajñopavīta* and *vanamālā*; but in the Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes he wears *ekāvali* and *kuṇḍalas*; the other ornaments are not very clear. He is clad in a *dhotī* which reaches upto the ankles fastened with a *mekhalā*. Sometimes his scarf is thrown over his shoulders[174] and sometimes fastened round his waist.[175]

The description of the image of Balarāma is found in the *Vaikhānasāgama*, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, *Agni*

Purāṇa, Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Rūpamaṇḍana and *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra.* These texts state that the image of Balarāma should have either two or four hands. In the case of the two-handed image, he should hold either a *hala*[176] in one of his hands, or a *hala* and a *mūsala* in his hands.[177] In the case of the four-handed image, he should hold a *hala*, a *mūsala*, a *gadā* and a *padma*, respectively, in his four hands.[178]

If Revatī is represented with Balarāma, she should be standing on his right side. Her right hand should hold a *padma* and the left arm should be stretched out. She should be clad in a flower-decked *sārī.*[179] The *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* mentions that when Balarāma is represented with Revatī, he should have four hands holding a *hala* and a *mūsala* in two of his hands; but the text does not mention anything about the other two hands.[180] He should be adorned with *kuṇḍalas*[181] and his hair should be tied at the top of his head.[182]

At Osian, in the case of the two-handed images in the Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes, we notice a *hala* usually in his right hand, and the other placed on his thigh, or both his hands holding the *hala* as described in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā.* In the case of the four-handed images, with the exception of the *gadā* and the *padma*, he holds the same attributes as described in the *Vaikhānasāgama.* In place of the *gadā* we find a *chakra* in two of the images. In one image his lower right hand holds a *sarpa* and the lower left is on his chest. The *padma* is not found in any of these images. Moreover, his head is usually adorned with either the *kirīṭa* or the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, though it is not mentioned in the texts. The image with Revatī differs from the description given in the text. Here, she is standing on his left in the *āliṅgana-mudrā*, and she is holding a mirror with her left hand instead of a lotus, and Balarāma has the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* on his head instead of being bare-headed.

Buddhāvatāra

The two-armed image of Buddha, the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu, is depicted as seated on a *siṁhāsana* in the *dhyāna-mudrā.* It represents him in deep meditation. His hands are placed one over the other upon his crossed legs in the *yoga-mudrā.* Below his seat two lions are in a sitting posture, but looking in opposite directions. His eyes are half-closed and his hair curly. He is clad in a *dhotī*, the upper part of the body being bare. Whereas the other incarnations of Viṣṇu have ornaments, Buddha has no ornaments on his body. His face is weather-worn. Above the deity we notice a flying Vidyādhara on each side with garlands in their hands. An indistinct figure is standing below the Vidyādharas on his either side. This is the only image of Buddhāvatāra found at Osian.[183] Dr Bhandarkar has also mentioned it. According to him, it shows that "As early as the ninth century, when the temple must have been erected, Buddha had come to be regarded as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu."[184]

The Buddhāvatāra-mūrti has been described in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and other Sanskri ttexts. According to them, Buddha should be shown sitting on a *padmāsana* in the *dhyāna-mudrā.* He should have two hands keeping them either on his crossed legs,[185] or in *varada-* and *abhaya-mudrās.*[186] He should have lotus-marks on his palms and feet.[187] His body should be draped in *kaṣāyavastra.* He should not have any ornament on his body.[188]

The image which we notice at Osian is quite similar to the textual description; but here we do not notice any lotus-mark on his palms and feet, though he has the lotus-mark on his chest and he is seated on a *siṁhāsana* instead of a *padmāsana.*

Dress and Ornaments of Viṣṇu and His Incarnations

In all the different types of images whether *sthānaka, āsana, śayana*, or of the different incarnations, Viṣṇu wears a *dhotī* and a scarf which is usually thrown over his shoulders. Sometimes his *dhotī* reaches down to his ankles and sometimes it hardly covers his thighs. In all these images, his person is adorned with *kuṇḍalas, hāras, keyūras, kaṅkaṇas, mekhalā, nūpuras, yajñopavīta* and *vanamālā* reaching down to the knees. He has the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* except in the Varāha, Nṛsiṁha and Kṛṣṇa-līlā images.

Other Depictions of Viṣṇu

In the other depictions of Lord Viṣṇu, we find him only with Lakṣmī. This is called his Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa *āliṅgana-mūrti.*

Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Images

Five representations of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa are noticed, three in the Sachiyā Mātā temple, one in the Harihara temple and one in the Sūrya temple. Of these, the first three are standing and the other two are seated. Their description is as follows.

Sthānaka or Standing Images

Three subsidiary shrines of the Sachiyā Mātā temple portray the *sthānaka-mūrtīs* of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. In all the three images, both Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are standing *tribhaṅga* on a pedestal in the *āliṅgana-mudrā.* In the first image, her right arm rests on the shoulders of the consort, while the left, holding an indistinct object, is resting on her *kaṭi.* She is adorned with all suitable ornaments, and she has a dome-shaped coiffure with beaded strings round it. The attributes in the three hands of Viṣṇu are a *padma*, a *gadā* and a *chakra.* The fourth one, holding a *śaṅkha*, is placed on the left shoulder of Lakṣmī. His person is adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, a *mekhalā*, *yajñopavīta*, *vanamālā* and a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa.* Garuḍa is standing to the right of Viṣṇu. His right hand is resting on the *vanamālā* of Viṣṇu and his left hand, bent at the wrist, is near his left shoulder (Photograph 29).[189]

The second depiction of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is almost similar with the difference that the left hand of Lakṣmī is holding a fruit instead of being on her *mekhalā.* Here the lower right hand of Viṣṇu is resting on his chest, the two upper ones hold a *gadā* and a *chakra*, the remaining lower left arm is clasping the shoulders of his spouse with a *śaṅkha* in his hand. This sculpture has the same rich ornamentation as the above ones. One male attendant is standing on either side of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The right one is in the *añjali-mudrā*, but his head is broken off, while the left one is simply standing and his arms are hanging down.[190]

The third image is similar to the first one; but here the left hand of the goddess is holding a *padma* instead of being on the *mekhalā.* The attributes in the four hands of Nārāyaṇa are the same as in the first image. Garuḍa is standing to the right side of the deity with his hands folded.[191]

Seated Images

The two seated images of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa are sculptured on the door-lintels of the entrance of the sanctum of Harihara temple No. II[192] and Sūrya temple.[193] They show both Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa seated on a *siṁhāsana.* The attributes held in their hands are not distinct. The figures of Garuḍa are noticed just below the figures of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

The image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is described in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and other texts. These texts state that Viṣṇu should have his left hand around the waist of Lakṣmī. The texts do not refer to his right hand. Lakṣmī should be two-armed and be seated on his left side. Her right arm should be placed round the neck of her lord, and the left hand should carry a *padma.*[194] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* mentions that Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa should be seated on Garuḍa,[195] but the *Viśvakarma Śāstra* says that Garuḍa should be standing in front of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Siddhi should be standing with a *chāmara* near Lakṣmī. This text also mentions that two Āyudha-Purūṣas, each holding a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra*, should be standing in front of Viṣṇu. Brahmā and Śiva should also be seated in the attitude of worshippers in front of Viṣṇu.[196]

At Osian we notice both their seated and standing images. These images differ in some respects

from the descriptions given in the texts. First, they are not shown as seated on Garuḍa; second, Brahmā, Śiva, and *chāmaradhāriṇī* Siddhi are missing, though indicated in the texts. The other details somewhat tally with the texts.

Garuḍa, Āyudha-Purūṣas and Dvārapālas

Garuḍa—the Vāhana of Viṣṇu

Garuḍa, the usual mount and emblem of Lord Viṣṇu, is depicted in three attitudes; viz., independent, transporting his master, or by the side of the latter. Several independent images of Garuḍa have been found here, usually in the middle of door-lintels of the sanctums. In one of his independent images noticed in the subsidiary shrine of Harihara temple No. I, he is conventionally depicted; the right knee is resting on the ground with the leg turned backwards, while his left leg is bent at the knee with the foot resting on the ground in line with the right knee. His hands are folded in adoration. He has also powerful wings, *jaṭābhāra*, on his bowed head, and is adorned with *ekāvali*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc.[197]

In the other independent images, he is sculptured in the centre of the door-lintels (*lalāṭabiṁba*) holding the tails of several entwined snakes in his hands. In Harihara temple Nos. I and II, he is depicted amidst the coils of the serpents, the tails of which he is holding.[198] In the Piplā Devī temple, he carries a flower garland instead of holding the snake tails.[199]

In the second type of images, he is always represented as transporting god Viṣṇu, seated on his shoulders in the *lalitāsana* pose. In one case, however, Viṣṇu is not seated in the *lalitāsana* pose: both of his legs rest on the outstretched palms of Garuḍa, who has upraised hair and various ornaments on his body.

In the third type of images, Garuḍa always stands either to the right or to the left of his master in the *añjali-mudrā*. In this case his wings are concealed from view (Photograph 29).[200] The rest, i.e., the ornaments and upraised hair, are described above.

At Osian, Garuḍa is always depicted in human form with two arms and powerful wings, except that in the standing images his wings are not clearly visible. He is always putting on the identical dress and ornaments which we have noticed above. In the Khajuraho group of temples, on the contrary, the images of Garuḍa are without wings.[201]

Āyudha-Purūṣas

The attributes in the hands of Viṣṇu are sometimes personified and represented in concrete human forms. Some of them are males (having as their attributes the *aṅkuśa*, the *pāśa*, the *śūla*, the *vajra*, the *khaḍga* and the *daṇḍa*; some of them are females (with the *śakti* and the *gadā* as their attributes); and some are eunuchs (their attributes being the *chakra* and the *padma*).

It is prescribed that the Āyudha-Purūṣas should have only one head with two eyes, that the head should be adorned with the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, and that each of them should have only two hands held over the chest in the *añjali* pose. The specific emblem or weapon which each of them is intended to represent is placed between their hands, except that the *chakra* should be placed on the crown.[202]

At Osian only *chakra-* and *śaṅkha-purūṣas* are seen with the *sthānaka-mūrtīs* of Viṣṇu. Other Āyudha-Purūṣas are not found here. At Khajuraho, however, *śaṅkha-*, *chakra-* and *padma-purūṣas* are found both independently and in the company of Viṣṇu.[203]

Śaṅkha-Purūṣas

Several images of *śaṅkha-purūṣas* have been noticed here. Usually they are standing *tribhaṅga* to the left of their master. All of them are two-handed. One of the hands holds the cognizance, the *śaṅkha*, while the other rests on the thigh. They are adorned with *ekāvali*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*; they have big *dhammillas* on their heads instead of the *kirīṭa-* or *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* as mentioned in the texts.

Chakra-Purūṣas

Chakra-purūṣas are also depicted in a similar attitude. They are also two-handed and standing *tribhaṅga*. The right hand of each is usually holding a *chakra*, while the left is resting on *kaṭi*. They also have big *dhammillas* on their heads and the usual dress and ornaments on their bodies.

Padma-Purūṣas

The only representation of *padma-purūṣa* is found in the case of the Harihara image in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. He stands to the left of Hari (Viṣṇu) with a *padma* in his right hand, while the left hand rests on his left thigh.

Along the other attendants of Viṣṇu we notice *padmadhāriṇīs*, *chāmaradhāriṇīs*, already mentioned, and *dvārapālas*.

Dvārapālas

Only four pairs of *dvārapālas* have survived, two on the door-jambs and the other two on each side of the *maṇḍapa* pillars of the Sachiyā Mātā temple. Of these the two pairs on the door-jambs are two-handed and are standing *tribhaṅga*, holding a *śaṅkha* or a *chakra* in one of their hands, the other being on the *kaṭi*. They are adorned with the *kirīṭa-* or *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and other ornaments.

The other two pairs with four hands are also in the *tribhaṅga* pose. Of these, one has a *gadā* in his lower right hand, the two upper hands hold a *padma* and a *chakra*, the lower left hand is broken. The second one holds a *chakra* and a *padma* in his two upper hands, the lower left holds a *gadā*, while the lower right is broken and the third one carries a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra* in the upper left and lower left hands. The fourth holds a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha* in the lower right and upper right hands, while the two left hands are broken.

REFERENCES

1. *Ṛv.*, 1, 155.6.
2. Ibid., VII, 00.1, 1005-6.
3. Bhandarkar, R.G., *VSMRS*, p. 33.
4. *Ṛv.*, 1, 154.4.
5. Bhandarkar, R.G., op. cit., p. 97.
6. Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 432.
7. According to Barth and Hopkins, Kṛṣṇa was not a human being at all, but a popular divinity whose identification with Viṣṇu gave rise to sectarian Vaiṣṇavism (Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 434).
8. Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 436.
9. *VDP*, 85, 1-15.
10. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 31-35.
11. *Ag.*, 44, 47-49.
12. *Mat.*, 258, 4-15.
13. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 31-35; *VDP*, 85, 1-15.
14. *VDP*, 85, 1-15.
15. *Ag.*, 44, 47-49.
16. *Mat.*, 258, 4-15.
17. *VDP*, 85, 1-15.
18. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Outer W. Wall, above the Jaṅghā.
19. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Door-lintel.
20. H.H.T. No. I, Aṅta, W. Wall.
21. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 24.
22. *Siddh. Saṁ.*, vide *EHI*, I, I, p. 87.
23. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 24.
24. *Siddh. Saṁ.*, vide *EHI*, I, I, p. 87.
25. H.H.T. No. II, Aṅta, E. Wall.
26. Śiva Temple No. I, Door-lintel.
27. V.T. No. II, Door-lintel.
28. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
29. H.H.T. No. I, N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall; cf. Bhandarkar, D.R., *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 103.
30. *SS*, cf. *SIGG*, p. 55.
31. *Bhāg.*, 6, 4, 36-38; cf. Bajpai, K.D., *JUPHS*, Vol. II (New Series), Part II, 1954, p. 18.
32. It is a large loose sculpture of another contemporary temple, now kept in the Sachiyā Mātā temple.
33. It is also a small piece of stone slab on which this scene is elegantly depicted. Now it is kept in the Mandor Museum.
34. *VDP*, 81, 2-8.
35. *Ap.*, 219, 1-9; *Rūp. M.*, 5, 29.
36. *VDP*, 81, 2-8.

37. *Ap.*, 219, 1-9.
38. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, I, pp. 92-94.
39. *Ap.*, 219, 1-9.
40. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 29.
41. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, I, pp. 92-94.
42. Ibid.
43. *Pad.*, *Pātāla Khaṇḍa*, 78, 16-27
44. *Ag.*, 48.
45. Fourth Part, Chapter I, pp. 114-15.
46. *Devā-Prak.*, 5, 8-13.
47. *Rūp. M.*, 3, 9-21.
48. *EHI*, I, I, pp. 123-24.
49. *Bhāg.*, 1, 3, 16; 2, 7, 13.
50. *EHI*, I, I, pp. 127-28.
51. Avasthi, R.A., *Khajuraho kī Devapratimāyen*, p. 94.
52. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. Wall.
53. *Bhāg.*, 2, 7, 1.
54. Ibid., 3, 13.
55. *EHI*, I, I, pp. 129-32.
56. Ibid., p. 132.
57. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, I, pp. 132-33.
58. *VDP*, 79, 2-8.
59. *Ag.*, 49, 2-3.
60. *VDP*, 79, 2-8.
61. *Ag.*, 49, 2-3.
62. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, I, pp. 132-33.
63. *VDP*, 79, 2-8; *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, I, pp. 132-33.
64. *EHI*, I, I, pp. 145-50.
65. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
66. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
67. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
68. S.M.T., Gallery, S.W. Wall.
69. S.N.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
70. V.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
71. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
72. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
73. *EHI*, I, I, pp. 149-51, Pls. XLII, XLIII.
74. Ibid., pp. 151-54, Pls. XLVI, XLVII.
75. Ibid., p. 154.
76-77. Ibid., Pl. XLI, Figs. 1 & 3.
78. Cf. Bhandarkar, D.R., *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 113.
79. Avasthi, R.A., *Khajuraho kī Devapratimāyen*, pp. 106-7.
80. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall; cf. *JIH*, Vol. 43, pp. 847-48; see also Kramrisch, Stella, *The Hindu Temple*, p. 403, Pl. LXX.
81. S.N.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
82. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
83. Ibid., Nos. II & III, and S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall, etc.
84. *Ag.*, 49, 5; *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 36.
85. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 37.
86. *VDP*, 85, 55-57.
87. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 38.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. *VDP*, 85, 55-57.
91. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 38.
92. Supra.
93. *Mat.*, 258, 10.
94. Deva, K., *Lalit-Kala* No. 7, p. 82.
95. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
96. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
97. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
98. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. Wall.
99. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
100. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
101. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
102. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
103. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, W. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
104. H.H.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā; V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā; S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta fz, S. Wall.
105. *Bhāg.*, 10, 7.
106. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta fz, W. Wall.
107. H.H.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā; ibid., No. III, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā; V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā, etc.
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109. *Bhāg.*, 10, 7.
110. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, fz, E. Wall.
111. Avasthi, R.A., *KDP*, p. 118, Fig. 43; Deva, K., op. cit., p. 83; Agrawala, U., *Khajuraho Sculptures*, p. 90, Fig. 68.
112. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
113. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
114. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
115. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
116. *Bhāg.*, 10, 10.
117. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, fz, W. Wall.
118. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
119. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
120. H.H.T. Nos. II & III, Sanc, Outer N. & S. Walls, fz above the Jaṅghā.
121. *Bhāg.*, 10, 11.
122. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
123. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
124. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Outer W. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
125. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
126. *Bhāg.*, 10, 15.
127. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
128. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Outer W. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
129. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, E. Wall.
130. *Bhāg.*, 10, 16, 17.
131. *EHI*, I, I, p. 212.
132. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
133. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
134. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Outer W. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
135. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, fz, E. Wall.
136. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
137. *Bhāg.*, 10, 25.
138. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.

139. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
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141. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
142. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, fz, S. Wall; cf. Agrawala, R.C., *IHQ* (December 1954), p. 343.
143. *Bhāg.*, 10, 36.
144. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
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146. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
147. *Bhāg.*, 10, 37.
148. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, fz, E. Wall.
149. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer E. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā etc.
150. *Bhāg.*, 10, 43.
151. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
152. H.H.T. Nos. I & III, Sanc, Outer S. & N. Walls, fzs above the Jaṅghā.
153. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
154. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
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156. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
157. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
158. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, N. Wall.
159. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, Ceiling.
160. Sūrya Temple, Aṅta, N. Pillar.
161. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, S. Pillar.
162. Sūrya temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
163. S.M.T., Gallery, W. Wall.
164. Memorial Pillar, E. Side, near Viṣṇu temple No. II.
165. Sūrya temple, Aṅta, S. pillar; cf. Bhandarkar, D.R., op. cit., p. 106.
166. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Aṅta, S. Pilaster.
167. Ibid., Aṅta, fz, E. Wall.
168. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
169. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Outer S. Wall, fz above the Jaṅghā.
170. Ibid., No. I, S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
171. *JIH*, Vol. 39 (1961), p. 126.
172. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
173. H.H.T. No. I, S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
174. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
175. Ibid., Nos. II & III; V.T. No. I, Kṛṣṇa-līlā fzs.
176. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 36. It does not mention the attribute for the other hand.
177. *VDP*, 85, 73.
178. *Ag.*, 49, 12.
179. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 44.
180. *SS*, 77, 36-38.
181. *VDP*, 85, 73.
182. *Vai. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 44.
183. H.H T. No. I, Jagatī, S. Wall.
184. Bhandarkar, D.R., *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 101.
185. *Rūp. M.*, 3, 28.
186. *EHI*, I, I, p. 219.
187. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 44.
188. *EHI*, I, I, p. 219.
189. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
190. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
191. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
192. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Door-lintel.
193. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Door-lintel.
194. *Rūp. M.*, 4, 34-35.
195. Ibid.
196. *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 57.
197. H.H.T. No. I, N.E. Shrine, inside.
198. Ibid., Nos. I & II, Aṅta, ceiling.
199. P.D.T., Sanc, Door-lintel.
200. S.M.T., N.E. & W. Shrines, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
201. Avasthi, R.A., *Khajuraho kī Devapratimāyen*, p. 146.
202. *EHI*, I, I, pp. 288-89.
203. Avasthi, R.A., *KDP*, pp. 147-48.

ŚAIVISM

SAIVISM was the other popular cult during the period of our study. It is one of the oldest cults in India. Its antiquity can be traced back to the Chalcolithic age. Some interesting scenes were discovered in the course of excavation at Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro, which, according to Marshall, contain the representation of Śiva-Paśupati. One of the most interesting scenes found on "the seal-amulets depicts a nude deity, with horns and three faces, seated on a stool with his heels pressed closely together in what is, evidently, a ritualistic posture. Surrounding him are a number of animals—two deer or antelopes, a rhinoceros, an elephant, a tiger, and a buffalo. The figure wears a large number of bangles on either arm, after the fashion of some of the female goddesses on the amulets; and a fan-shaped erection, like the head-dress worn by many of the female figurines, rises from his head between horns resembling those of a bull or buffalo."[1] This representation has at least three concepts which are usually associated with Śiva, viz., (i) Trimukha, (ii) Paśupati (Lord of animals) and (iii) Yogīśvara or Mahāyogī. Yogīśvara-Śiva is depicted on other seals also discovered at the same place.

Besides the anthropomorphic representation of Śiva is symbolic. The *liṅga* form was also popular in the Indus Valley. A large number of stone *liṅgas* have been discovered in Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro.

The popularity of the *liṅga* cult among the non-Āryans is also hinted at one place in the *Ṛgveda* where the *Dāsas* have been contemptuously described as *Śiśnadevāh*,[2] i.e., those who worshipped the phallus. It is also significant that Śiva is not mentioned among the gods in the *Ṛgveda*. However, in course of time the Āryans not only recognised Śiva as one of their principal gods, identifying him with the Vedic god Rudra, but also adopted the cult of *liṅga* worship.

In the *Ṛgveda*, i.e., the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* of white *Yajurveda*, and in the *Atharvaveda*, the word Śiva, meaning the auspicious, occurs as an epithet of Rudra. Rudra occupied a minor position among the Ṛgvedic gods, but by the time of the *Atharvaveda* he "attained to the dignity of the supreme god".[3] The *Śvetāśvatāra Upaniṣad* expounds the supremacy of Śiva and identifies him with the 'Eternal Absolute'.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to Śiva by several of his well-known names. And by this time, Rudra-Śiva had gained a history and founded a family. The *Mahābhārata* contains several passages attesting his hold on society. In this text we notice Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism becoming more prominent and widespread than the other cults. Though Śiva's character remains essentially the same as that of the Vedic Rudra, his attributes become more clearly defined and he receives new features and fame, and also ". . . from the post-*Saṁhitā* literature, it appears that Rudra-Śiva was a deity who was worshipped by all people and who was not at first a sectarian deity."[4] He retains his supremacy in the epic and *paurāṇic* periods, and he is often found to claim superiority over Viṣṇu and Brahmā. The *Purāṇas* represent Śiva as the third member of the Hindu Trinity, namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. By this time he becomes associated with a particular sect (the Śaiva sect) which regards him as the Supreme God. The Śaiva sect in course of time became divided into several sub-sects with their varying rituals and practices.

The earliest mention of Śiva worship that can be dated definitely is made by Megasthenes.[5] The prevalence of austere, ascetic practices among the Śaivas is attested to by Patañjali in the second century B.C. He mentions *Śiva-Bhāgavatas*, the ascetics, going about with an iron lance in their hands.[6]

Later historical records—literary, epigraphic, numismatic and glyptis—prove the prevalence and popularity of Śaiva cults in ancient India. The evidence furnished by them is further supplemented and corroborated by numerous sculptural representations found in different parts of the country and belonging to different periods of history.

The remains at Osian also bear witness to the popularity of Śaivism in that region during the period of our study. Śiva is represented here both symbolically and anthropomorphically. Symbolically, he is represented in the form of the *liṅga*, including *Mukha-liṅga* with one or more human faces carved on the *liṅga*. These two types were installed in the sanctums for worship; but anthropomorphic images were usually not made for worship. At Osian the anthropomorphic form is noticed in the small niches of the door-lintels and exterior walls of the temples. These represent various episodes connected with the story of Śiva.

The Symbolic Form

At present there is only one temple (Śiva temple) at Osian where the *Mukha-liṅga* form of Śiva is enshrined in the sanctum. There is no temple where his *liṅga* form is noticed enshrined in the sanctum. However, there are certain *pūjā*-panels which show the popularity of the *liṅga* cult in those days, as it is even today. There is an interesting *pūjā*-panel (Photograph 20) and some examples on the stone slabs in the Sachiyā Mātā temple, which show worship and oblation being offered to the *liṅga*.

Mukha-liṅga

Only one *Mukha-liṅga* is noticed here. It is sculptured with one human face, facing west. Two peculiarities are observed here. The big moustaches have been carved very beautifully on it. Secondly, the long *jaṭās* are tied at the top of the head. His eyes resemble lotus petals. These seem to be half-open (Photograph 32).

The *Mukha-liṅga* has been set up in the centre of a high and simple pedestal which is square in shape. This *liṅga* is still worshipped by the local people. Nandī, the usual mount of Śiva, is also sculptured in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple, facing his master. He is also seated on a pedestal and is adorned with a big beaded *mālā*.[7]

Anthropomorphic Images

At Osian we find a number of anthropomorphic images of Śiva showing him either seated or standing, either alone or in company. The anthropomorphic images of Śiva represent him in different forms,

such as *Anugraha-mūrti*, *Raudra* or *Saṁhāra-mūrti*, *Nṛtya-mūrti* and *Dakṣiṇā-mūrti*.

Anugraha-Mūrtīs

Several forms of the *Anugraha-mūrti* of Śiva are mentioned in the iconographic texts and represented in our sculptures, such as Chaṇḍeśānugrahamūrti, Viṣṇvanugrahamūrti (Chakradānamūrti), Nandīśānugrahamūrti, Vighneśvarānugrahamūrti, Kiratārjunamūrti, Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti, etc.

However, all these forms are not extant at Osian. There is only one panel in Harihara temple No. II depicting the Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti of Śiva. The story of this interesting episode is given by Gopinath Rao as follows:

> Rāvaṇa, having gone to defeat Kubera, was returning after achieving his purpose. On his way he came to Śaravaṇa . . . He ascended the hill, from the top of which he saw a much more pleasant garden whither he drove his *vimāna* Pushpaka. But when it neared the place . . . Rāvaṇa met a tawny-coloured, monkey-faced and powerful dwarf, by name Nandīkeśvara, . . . who, on being asked why the car was unable to move further, told Rāvaṇa that Mahādeva with his consort Umā was sporting on the mountain and had prohibited all, even the gods, from crossing that way. In great anger Rāvaṇa asked who that Mahādeva was and laughed contemptuously at the monkey-faced Nandīkeśvara. Nandīkeśvara . . . cursed Rāvaṇa . . . Not being able to proceed further and being cursed by Nandīkeśvara, Rāvaṇa determined to pluck up the mountain Kailāsa, from its very roots, threw his ten arms round the mountain and began to lift it up. He was able to move it, so that those that were on it trembled and Umā actually began to shake out of fear and clung to her lord. Śiva, learning the real cause, pressed the mountain with the great toe of his foot, which fixed the mountain firmly . . . and also pinned down Rāvaṇa underneath it. Rāvaṇa, seeing his own miserably helpless condition, and advised by his counsellors to propitiate Mahādeva, wept for a thousand years, singing hymns in praise of Śiva; the latter was at last pleased with Rāvaṇa, whom he presented with a sword . . . and let him return to Lanka . . .[8]

The scene of Rāvaṇānugraha is sculptured in Harihara temple No. II. Here Mahādeva and Umā are represented as seated on Kailāsa Parvata. His right leg is hanging down and pressing the hill. He holds a trident and a snake in his two upper hands, the lower right hand is broken, and the lower left is clasping Umā who is seated on his left thigh. Her facial expression is suggestive of fright. Frightened at the shaking of Kailāsa by Rāvaṇa, she has tightly embraced Śiva with both her hands. Both Śiva and Umā are putting on their usual dress and ornaments.

Underneath the hill Rāvaṇa is sculptured with four arms. Of these, the two upper arms are raising the hill, the lower left arm is broken and the lower right holds a sword. He has one main head, but it appears that he must have had other heads which have been cut off. His right leg is firmly planted on the ground, the left is bent at the knee and also kept firmly on the ground.

An attendant is standing on either side of Umā-Maheśa. The attendant, who is standing to the right of Śiva, is holding a *daṇḍa* in his right hand, his left hand rests on his chest, while the left attendant is carrying a trident with both his hands.[9]

Raudra or Saṁhāramūrtīs

Like the *Anugrahamūrtīs*, we have several *Saṁhāramūrtīs* of Śiva mentioned in different texts, viz., Kāmāntakamūrti, Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti, Kālārimūrti, Tripurāntakamūrti, Śarabheśamūrti, Brahmī-Śiraśchhedakamūrti and Bhairava.

Curiously enough, we find no representation of the *Saṁhāramūrti* of Śiva at Osian. Here the ferocious form of Śiva is represented only in the form of Bhairava.

Bhairava

A nude image of Bhairava is standing *tribhaṅga* on a pedestal. He has a terrifying appearance and wears a long *naramuṇḍamālā* reaching down to the ankles and also has a *sarpamālā*, a *sarpa-kaṭisūtra*, *sarpa-kuṇḍalas*, *sarpa-keyūras*, etc. In other words, we can say that he has worn snakes all over his body in place of golden and silver ornaments. He carries in his four hands a *khaḍga*, a scimitar (*kaṭāra*), a *kheṭaka* and a *kapāla*. His *vāhana*, the dog, is standing to his left on its two hind legs and looking towards its master. A nude attendant is standing on the right side of Bhairava holding a scimitar in his right hand, while the left is broken. He is also ferocious-faced like the deity.[10]

The image of Bhairava has been described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. According to it, Bhairava should be pot-bellied, ferocious-faced with wide nostrils. His person should be adorned with *sarpa* ornaments, but he should have a long *naramuṇḍamālā* reaching down to the knees. His body should be covered with the *gajacharma*. He should have many arms holding his respective attributes in them. He should be depicted as frightening Pārvatī with a snake.[11]

The image, which we have found at Osian, is quite similar to the description given above; but it is a four-handed image and Pārvatī is not represented here.

Another form of Bhairava, Vaṭuka, is also noticed here in the Sachiyā Mātā temple.

Vaṭuka-Bhairava

At Osian, the image of Vaṭuka-Bhairava has four hands. He is holding in his four hands a *khaḍga*, a *ḍamaru*, a *kheṭaka* and a *kapāla*. His facial expression is also ferocious like that of Bhairava. He is nude and is adorned with a long garland, round *kuṇḍalas* and *sarpa-mekhalā*. A dog is standing behind him. This sculpture appears to have been placed here at some later period.[12] This is assumed because the description of the image of Vaṭuka-Bhairava described in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the *Vaṭuka-Bhairavakalpa* suggests that it should have either four or eight hands. Furthermore, in the case of the four-handed image, the type represented at Osian, he should carry in his hands a *śūla*, a *pāśa*, a *ḍamaru* and a *kapāla*, respectively.[13]

These texts further mention that the image should be stark naked, should be surrounded by demons and should be sitting on a dog[14] or a dog should be standing near the master.[15] The image should carry a *khaḍga* and a *kheṭaka* in its hands.

However, at Osian the sculpture is not surrounded by the demons and is holding a *śūla* and a *pāśa* instead of a *khaḍga* and a *kheṭaka*.

Nṛtya-Mūrtis

Śiva is known as Naṭarāja, the Lord of Dance. Goetz observes, "The harmonious arrangement of the dancer's six, eight or ten arms, his head and his legs expresses perpetual equilibrium, the perfect balance between the creation and the destruction of the Universe, birth and death. The contrast between the movement of his limbs and stillness of his face expresses the paradox of time and his own indestructible being."[16]

Only two depictions of Śiva as performing the *Tāṇḍava* are noticed in the Sachiyā Mātā temple and Harihara temple No. II at Osian.

In the former case Śiva is shown with eight hands. Of these (clockwise, beginning with lower right), the first and the eighth are placed on his chest in a dancing pose; the second is broken; the third holds a trident; the fourth and fifth are carrying a snake raised over the head; the sixth has an indistinct object, the seventh is in the *gaja-hasta* or *daṇḍa-hasta* pose pointing to the raised right foot. Nandī is seated calmly on the left side, and a musician, seen on the right side of the deity, is playing on a pair of *tablās* accompanying his master, while looking at him (Photograph 33).[17]

In the latter case also he has eight hands. In this image his left leg is somewhat bent and it rests

on the ground, but only the toes of his right foot are touching the ground. His first arm is simply hanging down with an indistinct object; the second one is in the *gaja-hasta* pose; the third holds probably a *śūla* and *agni* and is somewhat upraised keeping it in a dancing attitude, the fourth and the fifth carry a *sarpa* raising it over his head. The sixth and the seventh are in dancing attitude, the eighth one is hanging down, probably holding a *kamaṇḍalu*. Śiva has round *kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvali*, *yajñopavīta*, *mekhalā*, etc.[18]

The description of Naṭarāja-mūrti of Śiva, nine dancing forms, is found in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Uttarakārṇāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, the *Pūrvakārṇāgama* and they have been described in detail by Gopinath Rao.[19] According to Gopinath, the seventh variety has eight hands. The three right hands hold a *śūla*, a *pāśa* and a *ḍamaru* and the fourth is in *abhaya-mudrā*. The two left hands carry *kapāla* and a pot of *agni*; the other two are in the *daṇḍa-hasta* and *vismaya* poses. The Devī should be shown standing to the left side of Śiva. His body should be bent at some places. The right foot should be fully raised up to head level, and the left should be kept on the body of Apsamārapurūṣa.

At Osian, however, we notice two images of the dancing Śiva with eight hands. These are somewhat different from the description given above. First, the goddess is not depicted and second, the left leg of Śiva is not stretched upwards to the level of his head. Also, the Apsamārapurūṣa is missing here. The rest of the details are somewhat similar to those given by Gopinath Rao and the texts mentioned above.

Other Important Aspects of Śiva

We have Arddhanārīśvara and Harihara forms of Śiva which are described in a subsequent chapter.

Kalyāṇasundara-Mūrti

The facade of the subsidiary shrine of Harihara temple No. II contains an interesting scene of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. Pārvatī is standing to the left of Śiva and both of them are facing front and standing slightly *tribhaṅga*. Śiva has four arms; of these, the two upper hands hold a trident and a snake as usual; the two lower hands are stretched out to receive the hands of his bride. The head of the deity is adorned with bejewelled *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and he is putting on *hāra*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *kaṭi-sūtra* and *yajñopavīta*, etc., and is also garbed in *dhotī* and scarf. The bride, Pārvatī, is clad in a *sārī*, bodice and a scarf which is thrown behind the shoulders, and is putting on the usual ornaments. In between the bride and the bridegroom a small figure of Brahmā is seen seated on a throne facing north. He has two hands, both of which are engaged in performing the *homa*. One male figure is standing *tribhaṅga* on a pedestal on the right side of Śiva and another male figure on the left side of Pārvatī. They are holding a *ghaṭa* with both hands. One male figure is seen below the pedestal supporting it. Adjacent to them, Gaṅgā and Yamunā are shown on either side of the male figures. They are standing *tribhaṅga* on their respective *vāhanas*, *makara* and *kūrma*. Both of them are holding *ghaṭas* in one of their hands; the other hand rests on the *kaṭi*. They are draped in *sārī*, bodice and scarf.[21]

The story of Kalyāṇasundara-mūrti is given in the *Varāha Purāṇa*. The marriage ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī, and their images are described in the *Uttarakārṇāgama*, the *Pūrvakārṇagama* and other *Āgamas* and are discussed in detail by Gopinath.[22]

In the Agamic texts, it is indicated that the image of Śiva should be shown standing *tribhaṅga* on the ground facing east. He should have four hands; the lower right hand should be shown in a pose to receive the right hand of Pārvatī; the lower left hand should be in the *varada-mudrā*; while the two upper ones should carry a *paraśu* and *mṛga*. The body of Śiva should be adorned with different ornaments, such as *hāra*, *keyūras*, *udarabandha* and *mekhalā*. Besides these, he should wear three snakes as *kuṇḍalas*, *mekhalā* and *hāra*.

Goddess Pārvatī should be standing either to his right or to his left. Her right arm should be stretched out to receive the hand of her Lord; and the left should carry a *nīlotopala*. Her person should

be adorned with different kinds of ornaments and she should be draped in silk garments.

Brahmā should be sitting on the ground in front of Śiva facing the north and performing the *homa*. Viṣṇu should be standing on the north side of the *havana-kuṇḍa*. He should carry a *ghaṭa* for pouring water in the act of giving away the bride. The presence of Lakṣmī should also be indicated.[23]

The Kalyāṇasundara-mūrti of Śiva at Osian is quite similar to the description given above.

Āliṅgana-Mūrtīs of Śiva and Pārvatī

Only two images of Umā-Maheśa have been depicted in the *sthānaka* pose on the outer walls of the two subsidiary shrines of the Sachiyā Mātā temple.

In one of the images Śiva is represented in the *āliṅgana* pose. One of the left arms is embracing Umā who is two-armed and is standing on his left side. Her left hand carries a fruit and the right arm is clasping Śiva. She has a *dhammilla* on her head and is adorned with the other usual ornaments. Śiva is holding a *triśūla* and a *sarpa* with his two upper hands, but the lower right hand is broken. Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are standing near the feet of Umā-Maheśa. The former is holding a pot of sweets in his left hand, the right being in the *varada-mudrā*, while the latter (Kārttikeya) has a *śakti* in the right hand and an indistinct object in the left. Both of them are wearing a *dhotī* and are adorned with the usual ornaments. Nandī, the *vāhana* of Śiva, is standing on the right side of his master. The main deity is adorned with a bejewelled *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and other ornaments, such as *yajñopavīta*, *hāra*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras*, *mekhalā*, etc.[24] (Photograph 34). The depiction of the second one is quite similar to the one described above, the only difference being that Umā holds a lotus in her left hand, while the right arm is embracing Śiva. Both the images represent Umā-Maheśa standing *tribhaṅga* on a lotus throne.[25]

The Chandraśekhara-mūrti of Śiva can be divided into three categories, namely, Kevala-mūrti, Umā-sahita-mūrti and Āliṅgana-mūrti.

The *Āliṅgana-mūrti* is the third type of Chandraśekhara-mūrti of Śiva. In this kind of *mūrtīs*, either both of them should be shown in the *āliṅgana* pose, or one of the left arm of Śiva should be embracing Umā. This arm should be placed on the shoulder, or on the arms, or below her left breast. The right hand of Umā should hold either a lotus, or it should be embracing Śiva. In this case the hand of the goddess should be placed round the *kaṭi* of Śiva (right side), while the left should carry a *padma*.

The *Śritatvanidhi* states that the image of Devī should be shown standing *tribhaṅga*. Her right leg should be placed on the pedestal and the left leg should be slightly bent resting on the same, and she should hold a *padma* in her right hand.

The Osian images are quite similar to the description given in the texts. The attributes of the god are not mentioned in these texts. The images which we notice here carry the usual *āyudhas* in the four hands. The only difference is that the right arm of Umā is always seen on the right shoulder of Śiva, and not around his *kaṭi*.

Umā-Maheśvara Mūrti

Only two images of this type are noticed at Osian. In this case Śiva is shown seated on Nandī in the *lalitāsana* pose. He carries a trident and a snake in two of his upper hands, the lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, while the lower left hand is stretched out on the shoulders of Umā who is seated on his left thigh. Her right arm is similarly placed on the shoulders of Śiva and the left hand carries a mirror. Both of her legs are slightly bent and rest on the back of Nandī. She has a *dhammilla* and is putting on *hāra*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras*, *aṅgada*, *kuṇḍalas*, etc. Like Umā, Śiva is also adorned with bejewelled *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and other usual ornaments.[26] In the second image also Śiva is shown seated on Nandī with his consort Pārvatī who is seated on his left thigh. The attributes in their hands are not very clear.[27]

The description of the Umā-sahita-mūrti is found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. According to these texts, this image of Śiva should have either two or four hands. In the four-handed image (the type represented at Osian) the right hands should hold a *mātuluṅga* and a

triśūla; one of the left hands should be placed upon the shoulders of the goddess and the other should have a *sarpa*.[28] As regards the goddess, she should have two arms; the right one should be embracing Śiva, and the left should have a *darpaṇa*. The *Rūpamaṇḍana* states that the images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Bhṛṅgī should be sculptured with the image of Umā-Maheśa. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* prescribes that an *arddhachandra* should be fixed in the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* of Śiva.[29]

At Osian, we notice only four-handed images of this type. Here the images of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Bhṛṅgī are missing. The rest of the details are similar to the description given in the texts.

Miscellaneous Images

Sthānaka or Standing Images

In addition to these images, *sthānaka* and *āsana-mūrtīs* of Śiva are also noticed at Osian. They differ in their attributes. The description of the *sthānaka* images of Śiva is as follows.

There are two standing images of Śiva sculptured on the western wall of the subsidiary shrine of Harihara temple No. II. In one image the lower right hand of the deity is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. The two upper hands have a trident and a snake, while the lower left rests on the *kaṭi*.[30] In the case of another image in the same temple, the lower right hand rests on the chest, the other three hands are just as prescribed above.[31] A third image of Śiva is noticed on the *jagatī* of the main shrine of the same temple. He is standing slightly *tribhaṅga* on a lotus throne. Only the right hand holds a snake; the other three hands are mutilated. An attendant is standing on either side of the deity. The attendant on the right side is very much damaged. The left one carries a trident in his right hand and a long *śakti* in the left. Nandī is standing in front of the right-side attendant. The deity is adorned with the *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, including other ornaments such as *sarpa-kuṇḍalas*, *sarpa-keyūras*, *sarpa-mekhalā*, etc.[32] In Harihara temple No. I, we notice a similar image.[33] Another image is noticed in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. The deity is standing *sambhaṅga* on a lotus throne and holds a *sarpa* and a *triśūla* in his two upper hands, the lower right has an indistinct object, while the lower left carries a *kamaṇḍalu*. He has the usual ornaments, including a *jaṭā-mukuta*.[34] In yet another image, probably of the ferocious visaged god, he holds a *ḍamaru* and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the two lower hands, while the two upper ones carry a bowl and a snake. A *khaṭvāṅga* rests against the left arm. He is adorned with a long *naramuṇḍamālā* which goes down to the knees, a rosary round the neck and the other usual ornaments on the body.[35]

Āsana or Seated Images

Only three seated images of god Śiva are noticed here. One at Viṣṇu temple holds a *ghaṭa*, a *triśūla*, a *sarpa* in the first three hands and the fourth one rests on his thigh.[36] In the second image, at Śiva temple, his attributes do not appear very distinct.[37] The third image is noticed in Harihara temple No. II. The two upper hands hold a *triśūla* and probably a *sarpa*, the lower right hand rests on the chest, while the lower left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. The deity is seated on a pedestal in the *arddha-paryaṅkāsana* pose, but the dress and ornaments are not distinct.[38]

Nandī

In the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Śiva temple, there is a big image of Nandī, seated on a pedestal facing his master. His body is adorned with several types of ornaments.[39] Nandī is also represented in other compositions along with his Lord (Photographs 33 and 34).

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1. Mackay, E., *Early Indus Civilization*, p. 56.
2. Bhandarkar, R.G., *VSMRS*, p. 15, New Edn. (1965), p. 115, where *Śiśnadevāh* is explained as those whose god was *Śiśna*.
3. Ibid., p. 107 (1965 Edn.).
4. Ibid., p. 115 (1965 Edn.).
5. Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 456.
6. Banerjea, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1956), p. 449. In the early centuries of the Christian era some of the Kuṣāṇa kings became ardent Śaivas and caused their coins to be minted with the images of the god and of his emblem such as the trident and the sacred bull on them (Majumdar, R.C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 456). The anthropomorphic form of Śiva first appeared on the coins hailing from Ujjain and another variety of Śiva is depicted on Gondophares coins, and then on the coins of the Kuṣāṇas but Śiva assumed a definite shape in the Gupta period (Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, 1946, pp. 130-32).
7. Ru Śiva Temple, Sanc, inside.
8. *EHI*, II, I, pp. 217-18.
9. H.H.T. No. II, N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
10. S.M.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
11. *VDP*, 59, 1-7.
12. S.M.T., Aṅta, N. Wall.
13. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 76-77.
14. Ibid., vide *EHI*, II, I, pp. 177-79.
15. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 76-77; cf. *EHI*, II, I, p. 177.
16. Goetz, H., *The Golden Age of Indian Art*, p. 34.
17. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
18. H.H.T. No. II, N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
19. *EHI*, II, I, pp. 224-29.
20. Ibid., p. 256.
21. H.H.T. No. II, N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
22. *EHI*, II, I, pp. 337-38.
23. Ibid., pp. 338-43.
24. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
25. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
26. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, above the Kṛṣṇa-līlā fz.
27. Ibid., No. II, Door-lintel; cf. *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 103.
28. *Ap.*, 213, 25-27; *Rūp. M.*, 4, 27.
29. *VDP*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 71.
30. H.H.T. No. II, N.W. Shrine, Outer W. Wall (Jaṅghā).
31. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Outer W. Wall (Jaṅghā).
32. Ibid., Jagatī, N. Wall.
33. Ibid., No. I, Jagatī, N. Wall.
34. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Door-lintel.
35. H.H.T. No. I, S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
36. V.T. No. II, Door-lintel.
37. Śiva Temple, Door-lintel.
38. H.H.T. No. II, Aṅta, W. Wall.
39. Śiva Temple, Mahāmaṇḍapa.

11

ŚAKTISM

SAKTI worship has been one of the most popular cults from the very beginning of Indian culture. In ancient times, as even in the present days, the worship of goddess Durgā as a chief deity was in great vogue. The history of Śakti worship in the form of Mother Goddess begins from the days of the Indus valley civilization. We have found a large number of terracotta figurines of the Mother Goddess in the ruins of the Indus valley city. Subsequently in the *Ṛgveda* also, we find several female goddesses mentioned prominently such as Aditi, Ūṣā, Pṛthvī, Vāk, etc. Vedic *Ṛṣis* recited hymns in honour of these goddesses. Some of the noblest hymns in the *Ṛgveda* are addressed to goddess Ūṣā. They also occupied a distinguished place in the epic and *paurāṇic* periods. The Devī as a Supreme Deity might not have occupied a prominent place in the Vedic period,[1] but later on she came to be worshipped not only as the consort of a male god, but also in her own right. It is significant to note that in Hindu mythology almost all the gods have their consorts. Some of these goddesses in course of time came to be worshipped independently also. For instance, Lakṣmī is not only the consort of Viṣṇu, but she is also the Goddess of Fortune; Sarasvatī, the consort of Brahmā, is the Goddess of Learning; Durgā-Pārvatī, besides being the consort of Śiva, is also the Goddess of Power. They came to be worshipped as independent deities and the *Śāktas* worshipped them to the exclusion of male gods. The *Śākta* cult had already developed before the period of our study. We have already mentioned in the introductory chapter that Osian was a prominent centre of Śakti cult as it even now is. The most prominent temple there is dedicated to Sachiyā Mātā. This temple is still visited by worshippers and attracts large numbers of pilgrims from far and near, particularly during *Navarātra*. The image installed in the sanctum of this temple is that of Mahiṣāsuramardinī. The popularity of the *Śākta* cult at Osian in olden times is also evidenced by an inscription of one Gayāpāla, which records the installation of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Śītalā, Chāmuṇḍā, Kṣemaṅkarī and Kṣetra Pāla in *Saṁvat* 1234 (A.D. 1178).

The goddesses represented at Osian are Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Durgā-Pārvatī in her different forms. In addition to them, there are also two panels representing the Saptamātrikās.

Lakṣmī

Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and the consort of Viṣṇu, figures prominently in our sculptures. We notice an image of two-armed Lakṣmī in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. She is seated on a *padmāsana* in the *lalitāsana* pose. Two lions are seated back to back below her throne in opposite directions. A long lotus-stalk is represented in between the two lions. The right hand of the goddess is in the *abhāya-mudrā* with a full-blown lotus which extends up to her shoulder level, while her left hand has a fruit and rests on her folded legs. The deity is adorned with a long flower garland which goes down to her knees. Two elephants are represented on each side of the goddess, and they are pouring water on her head from upturned jars held in their trunks. One female attendant is standing on either side of the goddess. She carries a water-vessel in her left hand, while the right hand is resting on her thigh. The goddess is clad in a bodice, scarf and *sārī* and is adorned with ornaments, such as *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *mekhalā*, *nūpuras*, etc.[2]

In Harihara temple No. I, the image of Lakṣmī is quite similar to the above one, but her left hand holds an *amṛtaghaṭa* and the right hand holds some indistinct object which might have been the usual lotus with a stalk. These *āyudhas* are not distinct owing to the mutilation of the image.[3] In Harihara temple No. II, the goddess is seated on a *padmāsana*. It is slightly different from the two described above. In this image the lotus flowers with stalks are sculptured below her throne in place of the two lions. Her left hand is broken, while the right carries a lotus flower. An elephant, on either side of her, is shown pouring water upon her head. She has put on the usual dress and ornaments.[4] One more composition of the same goddess shows her seated on a high *padmāsana*. There are no lions below the throne. She holds two lotuses with long stalks in her hands, which are raised up to her shoulders. Two elephants, standing on either side of the goddess, are holding water-vessels in their trunks. The vessels of the upper pair are overturned as if they have poured the water upon her head, while the lower pair grasp them with their long trunks as if they are about to pour it upon the goddess. A lotus halo is sculptured behind her head. She is adorned with the usual ornaments; but the most interesting thing is the *ṭeekā* which instead of the usual *bendā* hangs down the middle of her *dhammilla* with a long chain (Pl. XV, Fig. 3). She is clad in a *sārī*, a bodice and a scarf placed on the back of her shoulders.[5]

The image of Lakṣmī has been described in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc. According to these texts, she should have either two or four hands. In the former case, the type represented at Osian, she should have either two lotuses[6] or a lotus flower in the right hand and a *bilva* fruit in the left.[7]

These texts also mention that she should be shown seated on a *padmāsana*, and elephants should be standing as if pouring water on her head from the pots presented by attendants. The goddess should be clad in a bodice, a *sārī* and should be adorned with a garland of flowers, *nakrakuṇḍalas* and other ornaments also. The *Śilparatna* gives a somewhat different description of the image of the goddess. According to it, two female attendants, one on each side, should be shown waving *chāmaras* before her. The goddess should be bathed with water from similar water-pots. This text further mentions that if the image of the goddess is sculptured with god Viṣṇu, she should have two arms. If she is installed in a separate temple, she should have four hands and should be seated on a *siṁhāsana*.[8]

It is, however, interesting to note that at the Osian temples she is always depicted with two arms, whether with god Viṣṇu or alone. The objects which she holds in her hands and other details mostly conform to the descriptions given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*.

Sarasvatī

Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning and culture, is a well-known deity. She has various names, such as Vāk, Vāgadevī, Vāgeśvarī, Bhāratī, Vāṇī, etc. At Osian, goddess Sarasvatī is always depicted with two arms carrying a *vīṇā* in both her hands. In Viṣṇu temple No. III, the goddess is holding a

vīṇā in such a manner as to signify that she is playing on it.[9] This depiction of hers is noticed at least in three temples.[10] Her *vāhana*, the swan, is not depicted anywhere. In all these images, she is clad in a *sārī*, a bodice and a scarf and is adorned with *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *vanamālā*, etc.

As goddess of culture and learning, she was popular among the followers of the Brahmanical religion. In Brahmanical mythology, she is ordinarily represented sitting on a lotus seat with one leg hanging down, and playing on a *vīṇā*. Her *vāhana*, the swan, is represented near her feet.[11] The image of goddess Sarasvatī is described in the *Agni Purāṇa*, *Rūpamaṇḍana*, *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, *Pūrvakārṇāgama*, *Sūta Saṁhitā* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Devīmahātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, etc. These texts state that she should be sculptured as seated or standing and be with four hands. In the case of the seated image, she should hold either a lotus, a *vīṇā* and a *pustaka* respectively in three hands, while the fourth hand should be held in *varada-mudrā*,[12] or she should hold in her hands an *akṣamālā*, an *aṅkuśa*, a *vīṇā* and a *pustaka*,[13] or one of her right hands should hold an *akṣamālā* and the other may be in *vyākhāna-mudrā*, and in the left hands she should carry a book and a lotus.[14] In the case of the standing image, she should be standing on a *padma* in *sambhaṅga* pose with a *vīṇā* in the right hand which is held in *vyākhāna-mudrā* as in the case of the seated image. These texts also prescribe that the goddess should be adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, *yajñopavīta*, etc.[15]

The images which we notice at Osian differ in some respects from the description given in the texts: (i) we have found here only two-handed images, and no four-handed ones, (ii) there is no standing image. The rest of the details, like dress and ornaments, mostly conform to the description in the texts.

Durgā Pārvatī

We have, at Osian, more images of Durgā-Pārvatī than those of Lakṣmī or Sarasvatī. They represent her in different forms.

Siṁhavāhinī-Durgā

Only two variations of the goddess Durgā are present here. One of them is four-handed and the other is twelve-handed.

Four-Handed Images

In the four-handed image of the goddess, she is seated on a lion in the *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* pose. She bears a *khaḍga*, a *triśūla* and a *ghaṇṭā* in the first three hands. The remaining fourth one has a *pātra* (bowl). Here her ornaments are not distinct.[16]

Twelve-Handed Images

The composition of the twelve-handed Siṁhavāhinī-Durgā is depicted in a very pleasing way. She is seated on a lion, her usual *vāhana*. Her left leg is folded and rests on the back of the lion who is seated under her. Her right leg is bent at the knee, but somewhat raised, and she is binding *nūpuras* round the ankle with the help of her two front hands (sixth and seventh). Her first hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right), is in the *varada-mudrā*. The second hand holds a *khaḍga*; the third a *chakra*; the fourth is taking out an arrow from the quiver which she has tied on her back; with the fifth she is putting on a *bendā* on her forehead. The object held in her eighth hand is mutilated, but it seems from the position of her face that it might have been a mirror; the remaining hands hold a *ghaṇṭā*, a *kheṭaka*, a *dhanuṣa* and a *ghaṭa*. There is a bird perched on the wrist of the hand that holds the *dhanuṣa* which looks more like a *kukkuṭa* (cock).[17] A female attendant is seated on a high pedestal on the right side of the goddess. Her feet are resting on the ground and she is holding some indistinct object with both her hands.

The sculptor has shown his great innate skill in adorning the goddess. She has a *dhammilla* on her head. Her countenance resembles the full moon in splendour and her eyes are beautiful like the petals of a lotus. The deity has prominent breasts and is clad in a scarf, a bodice and a *sārī*.[18]

In the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* and the *Suprabhedāgama*, it is stated that the goddess Durgā should have either four or eight hands. In the four-handed image, the two lower hands should be shown in the *abhaya* and *kaṭaka* poses, while the two upper hands should hold a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*,[19] as seen at Osian.

These texts also prescribe that the image of the Devī should be shown standing, either on the head of a *mahiṣa* or on a *padmāsana*, or seated on the back of a *siṁha*. She should be draped in a *kañchuka* and a *sārī*, and should have the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and other usual ornaments.[20]

However, Osian images of goddess Durgā differ in some aspects from the description given in the texts. At Osian, she is represented with four or twelve hands and is seated on the back of a lion, her usual *vāhana*. She has a *bendā* on her forehead and an elaborate bun adorns her head in place of the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.

Pārvatī

Only one seated and three standing images of goddess Pārvatī are noticed here. All of them are four-handed. The description of the images is as given below.

Standing Images

In one case, the goddess Pārvatī is standing *sambhaṅga* on a *padmāsana*. Two lions are seated below her throne facing in opposite directions. The deity has four hands. Of these, the first three hands hold a *khaḍga*, a *ghaṇṭā*, a *kamaṇḍalu*, and the fourth one is broken. She is putting on *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc., and has a *dhammilla* on her head.[21] The second figure of the goddess is shown standing on a *kamalāsana* in the same attitude as described above. In this image, her first hand is mutilated; the remaining three carry a trident, a snake and a water-vessel, respectively. An attendant is standing on either side of her, but their figures are not distinct.[22] The third image of Pārvatī is noticed in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. She is standing *sambhaṅga* on a lotus throne; but all the four hands are broken. It is somewhat different from the images mentioned above. A *Śiva-liṅga* is placed on a pedestal on the right side of the goddess, and some indistinct animal is shown seated below the pedestal, while the image of Gaṇeśa and another image, probably that of Kārttikeya, are seen on her left side. Besides these, a lion is shown behind the figure of Gaṇeśa.[23]

Seated Images

Goddess Pārvatī is seated with the small figure of a child on a lotus throne and wears an *ekāvali*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc. She carries something like a bowl or a human skull which is not distinct, a trident and a bell in her first three hands, while the fourth one is embracing the child who is shown sitting on her left side. Two female figures are noticed on her right side, while a male figure and a female figure, probably her attendants,[24] are seen on her left.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī

Eight images of the goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī are noticed at Osian. Of these, four are four-handed, three eight-handed and one twelve-handed.

Four-Handed Images

In one of the images, the goddess has in her four hands a trident, a sword, a bell and the tail of a

buffalo. Here, the demon is not depicted as emerging out of the body of the buffalo. She has a splendid *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on her head, which makes her beauty unsurpassable. She is putting on the usual ornaments, such as *kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvali*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc.[25]

The second image of the goddess has the same *āyudhas* in the first three hands as described above; but the remaining fourth hand holds the mouth of the buffalo-demon, and she is piercing it with her trident which is held in her lower left hand. This image differs from the first one on account of two main factors: (i) the half-emerged demon is not seen, and (ii) the left leg of the goddess is resting on the back of a lion which is standing on her left side.[26]

A third composition shows the goddess carrying a trident and a sword in her lower and upper right hands, while the two other hands are mutilated. In this sculpture, the demon, Mahiṣāsura, is represented as having emerged out of the buffalo, the neck of which has been cut off. It is lying near the left leg of the goddess. The right foot of the demon is still inside the body of the buffalo. The goddess is clad in a *sārī*, a scarf and a bodice and has put on the usual ornaments.[27]

The fourth image of the goddess carries a sword and a bell in the two upper hands. The lower right hand holds a trident and the lower left hand has grasped the neck of the demon, who is shown emerging out of the buffalo. His right foot is still inside the body of the buffalo. The lion is seen behind the buffalo.[28]

The fifth four-handed image of the goddess is noticed in the *garbhagṛha* of the Sachiyā Mātā temple. This image is still worshipped by the local people of the region. In this image, three of her hands carry probably a shield, a scimitar and a sword, while the fourth hand is concealed from view. She is actively worshipped by a large number of people, she has been draped in a modern dress and is adorned with different types of modern ornaments (Photograph 36).[29]

Eight-Handed Images

In one of the eight-handed images, the goddess is riding her *vāhana*, the lion. She is piercing the neck of the buffalo with her *triśūla* held in her first hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right hand); the second and third are broken; the fourth has a *khaḍga*; the fifth holds a *kheṭaka*; the sixth is broken; the seventh has an indistinct object and with the eighth hand she is holding a lock of the hair of the demon who is lying supine on her left thigh, only his right foot is still touching the neck of the animal. He has a scimitar in his right hand, while his left hand is broken. The right foot of the goddess is heavily pressing the neck of the buffalo, while the left leg is stretched behind and the foot is resting on a pedestal. The Devī has a ferocious look and has put on *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *nūpuras* and has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on her head. In this image, her *vāhana*, the lion, is also taking part in the combat. It has clutched the buffalo with its front claws. Its figure is sculptured to the rear of the buffalo. Though this figure of the goddess is much damaged, it shows much animation.[30]

In the Piplā Devī temple, we notice three remarkable large-sized images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Gaṇeśa and Kubera. These are enshrined inside the *garbhagṛha* of the main shrine of the temple. Here, Mahiṣāsuramardinī is depicted riding a lion. Her left leg is stretched back with the foot resting on a pedestal. The right leg is somewhat bent at the knee and rests on the back of the *mahiṣa*. In this image also, the lion is seen giving support to the goddess in the combat. It has caught hold of the back of the *mahiṣa* with its mouth. Here the head of the *mahiṣa* is lying on the pedestal. The demon has emerged out of the buffalo, but his right foot is still inside its body. The demon is shown holding a scimitar in his right hand, as if he is trying to assault the goddess, and the left hand has an indistinct object. The deity is furiously assaulting the demon with her trident held in her first hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right). The second has a disc, the third a sword, the fourth is taking out an arrow from the quiver, the fifth has a shield, the sixth a bell, the seventh is pressing the head of the demon, while the last, the eighth one, carries a bow. She is clad in the usual dress and adorned with the usual ornaments, and has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on her head.[31] A third image is similar to the one described above, the only difference being that this image is quite small in size.[32]

Twelve-Handed Images

In the Sūrya temple, the well-moulded, twelve-handed goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī is sculptured as a young lady in her blooming youth. Her downcast eyes resemble the petals of a lotus. She is slender-waisted and has heavy breasts. The deity is piercing the neck of the buffalo-demon with her trident held in her right second hand. In this sculpture, the head of the buffalo is seen fully cut off and lying on a pedestal. The real demon, Mahiṣāsura, is emerging out of the neck of the buffalo. The demon is looking towards the goddess who is confident of her own prowess. She is holding a bell in her first hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right hand), but the arm is partly broken. The fourth hand has a sword, the fifth is taking out an arrow from the quiver. The sixth and seventh carry a disc raising it over her head. The eighth has a shield; the ninth a flower; the tenth is mutilated; the eleventh a bow; and the folded twelfth is resting below her left breast. Her hair is combed downwards, and a short hair parting is seen in the middle front in which a *bendā* is inserted. Besides this, the sculptor has embellished Durgā with all sorts of ornaments, such as a double-stringed necklace with a *chakra*-type pendant hanging down almost to her navel, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *kuṇḍalas*, etc. One remarkable thing which we notice here is that she is clad in only a *sārī*, but her scarf and bodice are missing (Photograph 37).[33]

The image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī has been described in different texts, such as the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Śilparatna* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. These texts state that she should have ten arms with which she should carry a *triśūla*, a *khaḍga*, a *śāktyāyudha*, a *chakra*, a *dhanuṣa*, a *pāśa*, an *aṅkuśa*, a *kheṭaka*, a *ghaṇṭā*, and a *paraśu*,[34] or her left hands should carry a *kheṭaka*, a *pāśa*, an *aṅkuśa*, a *ghaṇṭā*, a *paraśu*,[35] or a *kheṭaka*, a *dhanuṣa*, a *pāśa*, an *aṅkuśa*, a *ghaṇṭā*;[36] while the right hands should hold a *triśūla*, a *khaḍga*, a *chakra*, a *bāṇa*, and a *śakti*.

The *Śilparatna* mentions that the head of the buffalo should be shown cut off, and the half-emerged actual demon should be depicted as coming out of the body of the buffalo and held by the *nāgapāśa* of the goddess. Mahiṣāsura should have a *khaḍga* and a *kheṭaka* in his hands. The *triśūla* of the Devī should be shown plunged into the neck of the buffalo. Her right foot should be kept on the back of her *vāhana* and the left should be touching the body of the buffalo.[37] A somewhat similar description is noticed in other texts also.[38]

These texts mention that the Devī should be shown standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose. She should have full breasts and a narrow waist. Her head should be adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*,[39] or a mass of thick *jaṭā*.[40]

At Osian we have found the images of the goddess with four, six, eight, or twelve hands; but we do not find any ten-handed image as described in the texts. The Osian images differ also in the order of the *āyudhas* held by the goddess. The rest of the details are quite similar to the description given in the texts. In the case of the twelve-handed image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, the goddess carries similar attributes in her hands as mentioned in the texts, except that she holds a *padma* in one of her hands, which is not indicated in the texts. Besides this, one of the two extra hands is employed in holding the *chakra* with the sixth hand, and the other, which is folded, is resting below her left breast. Further, with the exception of two or three images, the head of the goddess is always adorned with a precious *bendā* and an elaborate bun in place of the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* or *jaṭā*, as mentioned in the *Śilparatna* and the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

Chāmuṇḍā

Only three images of goddess Chāmuṇḍā are present at Osian. Of these, the first is two-handed, the second is four-handed, and the third is eight-handed. Their description is as follows.

Two-Handed Image

The only two-handed image of goddess Chāmuṇḍā is noticed in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. She is

seated on a high pedestal with her legs hanging down. Her person is adorned with a garland of human skulls, armlets, simple bracelets, etc., and she has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on her head. The goddess has a terrific appearance, deep-set eyes, strong jaws, withered breasts and the belly drawn inwards on which the small figure of a scorpion is sculptured. Her two hands are simply resting on the pedestal.[41]

Four-Handed Image

The four-handed image of the ferocious-faced goddess Chāmuṇḍā is seated on the back of a demon. She has pendulous breasts and projecting ribs. The left leg of the demon is stretched back and the right is flexed at the knee and rests on the ground. His face is also slightly raised up from the ground, and looks towards the right. Of her four hands, the lower right hand holds a *pātra* (bowl) or some indistinct object; the upper right hand carries a *triśūla*. Its sharp points are inserted into the back of the *asura*; the upper left hand has a *sarpa*, while the lower left carries a *naramuṇḍa*. Her body is adorned with *ekāvali*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras* and she has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. A human skull is also noticed in the middle of her *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. Two male attendants, one on each side of the goddess, are standing in separate niches, and both of them carry swords. Two more attendants, a male and a female, are standing on either side of the first pair of attendants. Of these, the male attendant holds a *puṣpa* and a *gadā* and the female one is holding a flower garland, or may be *naramuṇḍamālā*,[42] with both her hands.

Eight-Handed Image

The eight-handed goddess, known as Kaṅkālī, is standing apparently in a dancing pose. She has a ferocious face with deep-set eyes and hanging breasts. She carries a *triśūla*, coiled with a *sarpa*, in her first hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right); the second holds an *aṅkuśa*; the third a *kaṭāra* (scimitar), which rests on a *kapāla* held in her eighth hand. The fourth has a *vajra*; the fifth a *khaṭvāṅga*; the sixth a *pāśa*; the seventh one holds the *daṇḍa* of the *khaṭvāṅga*. The goddess has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and is adorned with a *naramuṇḍamālā*, *nūpuras*, etc. The face of a lion is seen in between her legs. A corpse (*śava-vāhana*) is seen below her feet. An indistinct figure is standing on either side of the goddess. The figure on the right side of the goddess is holding a *khaḍga* in his, or her, right hand, the left being concealed from view. The one, to the left of the deity, is too indistinct to be identified.[43]

A description of the image of Goddess Chāmuṇḍā is found in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. These texts mention that she should be depicted with two, four, ten or sixteen hands. In the case of the two-handed image seen at the Sachiyā Mātā temple at Osian, the attributes are not mentioned in the texts.[44] In the case of the four-handed image, also found at Osian, she should have a *ghaṇṭā*, a *charma*, a *kapāla*, respectively, in the three hands, and the fourth should be held in the *varada-mudrā*,[45] or her two hands should hold a *kapāla* and a *śūla*, while the other two hands should be held, respectively, in the *varada* and *abhaya-mudrās*[46] or one of the left hands should carry a *kapāla* and the other *agni*, while in one of the right hands she should have a *śūla*.[47]

These texts also mention that she should be seated either on a *padmāsana*[48] or a corpse.[49] She should be either *digvāsā* (undraped)[50] or should wear a tiger skin.[51] Her body should be adorned with a *naramuṇḍamālā* as an *upavīta* and she should have other ornaments. These texts further mention that the Devī should have a ferocious face with powerful fangs.[52]

At Osian, the images of the goddess have either two, four or eight hands. All these images differ in some respects, as described earlier, from the description given in the texts mentioned and discussed above. Perhaps the builders of Osian designed their sculptures in accordance with their own designs and wishes.

Kṣemaṅkarī

At Osian, an image of goddess Kṣemaṅkarī is shown standing *sambhaṅga* on a lotus throne. She is putting on various ornaments, such as a *bendā*, a *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, a *mekhalā*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc. A crocodile halo is seen behind her head. Two lions are seated back to back below her throne looking at the goddess. Two *chāmaradhāriṇīs*, with a *nāga* canopy over their heads, are standing behind the lions. The deity has four hands, of which the two upper ones carry a *triśūla* and a *ghaṇṭā*. The two lower hands are broken.[53]

The description of the image of Kṣemaṅkarī is found in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and other texts. According to one text, she should have four hands, one of which should be in the *varada-mudrā* and the other three should hold a *triśūla*, a *kheṭaka* and a *pāna-pātra*.[54] Another text states that she should hold a *triśūla*, a *padma* and a *kamaṇḍalu* in three hands, while the fourth should be shown in the *varada-mudrā*.[55] Her *vāhana* is not mentioned in these texts.

The Osian image of goddess Kṣemaṅkarī has a *ghaṇṭā* and her *vāhana*, which are not mentioned in the texts.

Śītalā

The figure of goddess Śītalā is shown seated on the back of an ass in the *lalitāsana* pose. She has four hands; the two upper hands hold a *sūrpa* (winnowing basket) which is placed behind her head; the lower right hand carries a *ghaṇṭā* and the fourth hand is mutilated. She has a ferocious look and has put on simple ornaments. Two legs of the ass, the front left and the rear left, are broken. The ass is adorned with a big-beaded *mālā* round its neck.[56]

Saptamātrikās

It is said that in the fight between Śiva and Andhakāsura, the other *devas* also sent their Śaktis to kill Andhakāsura. They are Brahmāṇī, Māheśwarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā. These are the female counterparts of gods Brahmā, Maheśvara, Kumāra, Viṣṇu, Varāha, Indra and Yama, and are armed with the same weapons, wear the same ornaments and ride the same *vāhanas* and carry the same banners as the corresponding male gods do. On one side of the group of the Mother-goddesses, there is the figure of Gaṇeśa, and on the other side that of Vīrabhadra. The latter god is seen playing upon a *vīṇā*.[57]

The number of Mother-goddesses is differently mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas*. The *Rūpamaṇḍana*,[58] the *Suprabhedāgama*[59] and the other *Āgamas* mention seven Mother-goddesses (Saptamātrikās), namely, Brahmāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Chāmuṇḍā (or Yamī according to the *Varāha Purāṇa*). The *Devī Mahātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[60] has Nṛsiṁhī in place of Chāmuṇḍa as the seventh Mother-goddess. The *Matsya Purāṇa*[61] and the *Varāha Purāṇa*[62] mention eight Mātrikās (Aṣṭa-Mātrikās), the eighth being Yogeśvarī. The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* prescribe that Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra should be represented, one on each side of the Saptamātrikās.

At Osian, the images of the seven Mother-goddesses along with Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra are noticed, as stated in the *Āgamas* and *Purāṇas*. These are noticed only on the *adhiṣṭhāna* niches, but on one of the door-lintels of the subsidiary shrines, only the Saptamātrikās are depicted. The *āyudhas* of the seven Mothers on the door-lintel are also not clear.[63] The descriptions of the seven divine goddesses is as follows.

Brahmāṇī

The goddess is seated on her *vāhana*, the *haṁsa*. She has four hands, of which three hold a *sruva*, a

pustaka and a *ghaṭa*, respectively; the fourth one is broken. She has put on a necklace, ear-lobes, armlets, bracelets, and has worn the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.[64]

A description of the image of goddess Brahmāṇī is found in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Suprabhedāgama*, the *Pūrvakārṇāgama*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. These texts state that she should be figured with four or six hands. In the four-handed image, a form represented at Osian, she should hold either a *sruva* and a *pustaka* in the two upper hands and an *akṣasūtra* and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the two lower hands,[65] or the two upper ones should carry a *śūla* and an *akṣamālā* and the other two should be held in the *abhaya-* and *varada-mudrās*.[66]

These texts mention that she should have four faces and should be shown as seated on a *padma*. The *haṁsa* should be depicted as her *vāhana* as well as the emblem on her banner. Her person should be adorned with all sorts of ornaments and should have the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.[67]

At Osian, the attributes which she holds in her hands are similar to those of the four-handed image described in the texts.

Vaiṣṇavī

The goddess Vaiṣṇavī is elaborately sculptured with her four hands carrying a *gadā* and a *chakra* in the upper hands, while the lower hands are mutilated. She is seated on Garuḍa in the *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* pose as Viṣṇu is usually seen seated on him. The deity is putting on various ornaments such as a *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *nūpuras*, etc., and she wears the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*.[68]

The image of Vaiṣṇavī has been described in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc. According to these texts, she should be figured with either four or six hands. In the case of the four-handed image (the type represented at Osian), she should hold either a *śaṅkha*, a *chakra* and a *gadā* in three hands and the fourth should be in the *varada-mudrā*,[69] or a *śaṅkha*, a *chakra*, a *gadā* and a *padma* respectively in the four hands,[70] or two should be placed in the usual *abhaya* and *varada* poses and the other two should hold a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra*.[71]

These texts further specify that the goddess should be shown riding Garuḍa, the usual *vāhana* of god Viṣṇu. Like her Lord she should be adorned with different kinds of ornaments, such as *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *mekhalā* and *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*.

The images which we notice here conform to the description of the four-handed image given in the texts.

Indrāṇī

At Osian the four-handed goddess Indrāṇī is riding Airāvata as her *vāhana* and is putting on the usual ornaments. Her first hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right) is in *abhaya-mudrā* and the others are holding a *vajra*, an *aṅkuśa* and a *kamaṇḍalu*, respectively.[72]

The image of Indrāṇī has been described in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Devī Purāṇa*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, the *Pūrvakārṇāgama*, etc. These texts prescribe that she should have two, four, or six hands. In the case of the four-handed image (the type represented at Osian), she should hold a *śakti* and a *vajra* in two of her hands and the other two should be held in *varada-* and *abhaya-mudrās*.[73] The *Rūpamaṇḍana* mentions only three attributes, namely, a *vajra*, a *śūla* and a *gadā*, but nothing about the fourth.[74]

The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* state that the goddess should have two,[75] three,[76] or a thousand eyes,[77] and should be seated on a majestic elephant. Her body should be adorned with all varieties of ornaments and should wear a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*.[78]

The Osian image of goddess Indrāṇī has a *vajra* and an *abhaya* as mentioned in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* which, however, does not mention an *aṅkuśa* and a *kamaṇḍalu* held by the deity.

Chāmuṇḍā

The ferocious-faced goddess Chāmuṇḍā is seated upon the dead body of a man. She has four hands, of which the upper hands are mutilated. The goddess is putting on a garland of human-skulls with other ornaments.[79]

Māheśvarī

The figure of goddess Māheśvarī is shown seated on Nandī, the usual *vāhana* of Śiva, and has four hands. The lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the two upper ones carry a *triśūla* and a *sarpa*, while the lower left has a *ghaṭa* and rests on her folded thigh. She is adorned with a *hāra*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras*, and has the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on her head (Photograph 16).[80]

The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* describe the image of goddess Māheśvarī. These texts state that she should have either four or six hands. In the former case (the type represented at Osian), she should hold either a *kapāla*, a *śūla*, a *khaṭvāṅga* in the three hands and the fourth should be held in the *varada-mudrā*,[81] or her two hands should hold a *śūla* and an *akṣamālā*, while the other two should be placed in the *varada-* and *abhaya-mudrās*.[82]

All these texts state that she should be shown riding a bull and also be adorned with *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc. and should have a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on her head.

The image of Māheśvarī seen at Osian has different attributes in her hands as compared to those prescribed in the texts discussed above. The rest of the details conform to the description given in the texts.

Kaumārī

At Osian, goddess Kaumārī is depicted with four hands and is sitting on a peacock. The lower right and the upper left hands carry a *śakti* and a *kukkuṭa*. The upper right hand has an indistinct object, while the remaining lower left is mutilated. She has put on *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc.[83]

The image of Kaumārī has been described in different Sanskrit texts, namely, the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc. These texts state that she should have either four or twelve hands. In the four-handed images (the type represented at Osian), she should either have a *śakti* and a *kukkuṭa* in two of her hands, and the other two should be held in the *abhaya-* and *varada-mudrās*,[84] or a *śūla*, a *śakti*, a *gadā* in three of her hands,[85] or she should hold a *śūla*, a *śakti* and a *kukkuṭa*.

These texts further prescribe that she should be shown riding her *vāhana*, the peacock. Her person should be adorned with the usual ornaments.

The image found at Osian conforms to the description given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[86] except that the lower left arm is mutilated and the object held by the other cannot be identified.

Vārāhī

The goddess Vārāhī at Osian is seated on a buffalo. She has four hands. Of these the two upper hands hold a *gadā* or a *musala* and a *ghaṭa*, and the two lower hands are broken. She is dressed in her usual garb and is decorated with ornaments.[87]

Like the other *Mātrikās*, the image of Vārāhī has been described in the *Pūrvakārṇāgama*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, etc. According to these texts, she should have either four or six hands. In the former variety (the type represented at Osian), she should carry a *ghaṇṭā*, a *chāmara*, a *gadā* and *chakra*,[88] or a *chāmara*, a *gadā* and *chakra*,[89] or a *dhanuṣa*, a *hala*, a *musala*, respectively, in the three hands, and the fourth should be held in the *varada-* or *abhaya-mudrā*.[90]

These texts also mention that she should be shown riding her *vāhana*, the buffalo. The goddess

should be dressed in her usual dress and should be adorned with ornaments. She should have a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* on her head.

The image of goddess Vārāhī at Osian is almost similar to the description given in the texts.

The figures of Gaṇeśa, Kubera and Vīrabhadra are noticed here, but the figures of Gaṇeśa and Kubera[91] are sculptured in the beginning of the seven Mothers, while that of Vīrabhadra is seen in the midst of the *Mātrikās.* He is playing upon a *vīṇā* with his lower right and upper left hands; the upper right hand holds a *triśūla*; the lower left hand holds something indistinct. He has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on his head and is adorned with *keyūras* and *kaṅkaṇas.* The *vāhana* on which he is seated cannot be identified.[92]

Depictions of Indrāṇī with Vārāhī

There is a mutilated panel preserved in the *maṇḍapa* of the Sachiyā Mātā temple depicting Indrāṇī and Vārāhī. It might have originally contained the images of all the seven Mothers, but now only the standing images of Indrāṇī and Vārāhī are extant. Their description is as follows.

Indrāṇī

The two-handed standing image of the goddess is found here in a dancing pose. Her right hand holds a *vajra* and the left clasps a child shown on her left waist. She is adorned with the usual ornaments, such as *hāra, kuṇḍalas, kaṅkaṇas, keyūras, mekhalā* and *vanamālā* which reaches down to her knees, and has a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* on her head. She is clad in a *sārī*, a bodice, and a scarf which is shown on the back of her shoulders and dangling down both her sides. The elephant, Airāvata, the *vāhana* of god Indra, is standing behind to her left.

Vārāhī

The figure of goddess Vārāhī is sculptured with four hands, of which the lower right and upper left hold a *gadā* and a *chakra*, the upper right holds the corner of her scarf which is thrown on the back of her shoulders, and the remaining lower left clasps a child, shown on the left of her waist. She is standing in a dancing pose, like goddess Indrāṇī described above. Her *vāhana*, the buffalo, is missing here. She is adorned with several types of ornaments and a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. Bhandarkar, R.G., *VSMRS*, p. 142. In Vedic literature down to the *Gṛhyasūtras* which we have examined for tracing the development of the idea of Rūdra-Śiva, no female devotee of predominant power is mentioned. We have such names as Rūdrāṇī and Bhavānī, which are simply derivatives and do not show a belief in the existence of an independent powerful goddess. Umā, too, is the wife of a god and does not overshadow her male consort.
2. S.M.T., Maṇḍ, W. Wall.
3. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, N. Wall.
4. H.H.T. No. II, Jagatī, N. Wall.
5. Sardar Museum (Jodhpur).
6. *VDP*, 82, 1-15.
7. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, pp. 373-74.
8. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, pp. 133-34.
9. V.T. No. III, Door-lintel.
10. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Aṅta, S. Wall; Sūrya temple, Sanc, Door-lintel.
11. Bhattasali, N.K., *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 181-89.
12. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 62.
13. *Mārk.*
14. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, p. 377.
15. *VDP*, 64, 1-7.
16. Śiva Temple, Door-lintel.
17. R.C. Agrawala opines that the bird is a parrot, but the features make it look rather like a *kukkuṭa* (cock).
18. H.H.T. No. I, S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
19. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 105.
20. Ibid.
21. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, N. Wall.

22. Ibid., No. II, Jagatī, N. Wall.
23. S.M.T., Gallery, W. Wall.
24. H.H.T. No. I, S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
25. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
26. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
27. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
28. V.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
29. S.M.T., Sanc, inside.
30. Ibid., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
31. P.D.T., Sanc, inside.
32. Ibid., Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
33. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
34. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, pp. 109-10.
35. *Mat.*, 260, 56-65; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also refers to her *āyudhas*, which were presented by different gods (79, 16-26).
36. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 45-50.
37. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, pp. 109-10.
38. *Mat.*, 260, 55, 70.
39. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, pp. 109-10.
40. *Mat.*, 260, 56.
41. S.M.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
42. H.H.T. No. I, S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
43. S.M.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
44. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 70-72.
45. *Mat.*, 261, 37.
46. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 152.
47. *PKĀ*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 152. The *āyudha* held in the other right hand is not mentioned.
48. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 151.
49. *VDP*, 73, 1-5; *PKĀ*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 152.
50. *Mat.*, 261, 37.
51. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 151.
52. *PKĀ*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 152; *VDP*, 73, 1-5.
53. S.M.T. This image is lying in a corner to the left of the south-east shrine.
    Dhaky, M.A., *Chotte Lal Smriti Grantha*, p. 67. As pointed out by Dhaky, "The image as revealed by the very first glance seems an *Upāsya* one. It was entitled to an independent sanctuary. The physiognomic features, the style of carving, the ornamental details all point to the late eighth century as its age confirmed by a comparison with the imagery carved on the walls of the older shrines below the hill."
54. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 36.
55. *EHI*, I, II, p. 342.
56. S.M.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
57. *EHI*, I, II, p. 380.
58. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 63-72.
59. *Supr. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 143.
60. *Mārk.*, 85, 13-20.
61. *Mat.*, 261, 24-30.
62. *Var.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 381.
63. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Door-lintel.
64. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer N. Wall.
65. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 63; *Mat.*, 261, 24.
66. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 145.
67. Ibid.
68. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer N. Wall.
69. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 66; *Mat.*, 261, 28.
70. *Devī., PKĀ*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 149.
71. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 149.
72. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer N. Wall.
73. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 153.
74. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 69; *Mat.*, 261, 31-32.
75. *PKĀ*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 153.
76. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 153.
77. *VDP*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 153.
78. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 153.
79. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ fz, Outer E. Wall.
80. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ fz, Outer E. Wall.
81. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 64; *Mat.*, 261, 25-26.
82. *Aṁś. Ā*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 153.
83. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer W. Wall.
84. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 147.
85. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 65.
86. *Mat.*, 261, 27-28. These two texts do not specify the attributes of the fourth hand.
87. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer E. Wall.
88. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 67-68.
89. *Mat.*, 261, 30. It does not mention the *āyupha* held by the fourth hand.
90. *PKĀ*, vide *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, pp. 150-51.
91. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer W. Wall,
92. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer W. Wall.

12

THE GANAPATYA CULT

GAṆEŚA is one of the principal deities of Hinduism today. However, his name does not occur in the *Ṛgveda*. Evidently, he is not a Ṛgvedic deity. There is a view that he was the god of non-Āryans whose worship was later on adopted by the Indian Āryans. Dr R.G. Bhandarkar states, ". . . the one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, the son of Ambikā, was introduced into the Hindu pantheon much later. None of the Gupta inscriptions contains any mention of his name or announces any gift or benefaction in his honour. But in two of the caves at Ellorā, there are groups of Kāla, Kālī, the Seven Mothers or Śaktis, and Gaṇapati. These caves are to be referred to the latter part of the eighth century. So that between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century the Gaṇapati cult must have come into practice."[1] In course of time, however, Gaṇeśa gained in popularity and came to be worshipped under different names, such as Bīja-Gaṇapati, Herambha-Gaṇapati, Vakratuṇḍa, Bāla-Gaṇapati, Taruṇa-Gaṇapati, Viravighneśvara, Śakti-Gaṇeśa, Dhvaja-Gaṇapati, Piṅgala-Gaṇapati, Uchchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati, Vighnarāja-Gaṇapati, Urddhva-Gaṇapati, Prasanna-Gaṇapati, Unmatta-Vināyaka, Harīdra, etc.[2] There is also a sect among the Hindus who are specially devoted to the cult of Gaṇeśa. They are known as Gāṇapatyas.

Iconographic texts mention the characteristic features of the images of Gaṇeśa. In fact, they are explained by various epithets given to him. Gaṇapati is known by different appellations, such as one-tusked (*Ekadanta*), pot-bellied (*Lambodara*), having big and broad ears (*Sūrpakarṇa*), elephant-faced (*Gajānana*). Besides these, Gaṇeśa is called a leader of the *Śiva-Gaṇas* (Gaṇapati), the 'giver of success' and 'remover of obstacles' (*Vināyaka* and *Vighneśvara*), etc.

At Osian, Gaṇapati is represented standing. or seated, or dancing, or even in the *āliṅgana* pose (with Śakti), with two, or four, or six hands. However, the seated images of Gaṇapati are more common than his standing or dancing images. The attributes which are held in his hands are quite similar to those referred to in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Uttarakārṇāgama*, the *Suprabhedāgama* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. Here at Osian, the deity is not depicted with the *kirīṭa*,[3] or the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*,[4] and a mouse *vāhana*[5] as mentioned in the above texts. In all the images at Osian, his person is adorned with *hāra*, *keyūras*,

kaṅkaṇas, *nūpuras*, *sarpa* (Photograph 35) or beaded *yajñopavīta*. The *āyudhas* held in the hands of the deity differ from image to image. Their description is given below.

Standing Images

In one of the images, the elephant-headed god is standing on a pedestal in the *tribhaṅga* pose. He has four hands; the lower right hand holds an *aṅkuśa*, the two left hands carry *sarpa* and *modaka-pātra*. The remaining right hand, the upper one, has an indistinct object. The deity shows his right tusk, his head being bent towards the left and his long trunk is turned to the right. He is putting on a *dhotī*, probably tucked at the rear, and is tied with *mekhalā*. He is adorned with *hāra*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras* and *nūpuras*. Besides these, his head is also adorned with a beaded string, and he has a small beaded *yajñopavīta* on his chest[6] in place of the snake which is sometimes seen on his big belly (Photograph 35) or even his chest.[7]

In another image he is standing *tribhaṅga*, having a lotus with a stalk in the lower right hand, the upper right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and holds an *akṣamālā*, the upper left one holds a *paraśu* and the remaining lower left is resting on his chest. His proboscis is turned towards the right and is touching the right tusk. In this case also, he has put on the ornaments described above and a *sarpa-yajñopavīta*.[8]

The third image also shows him standing *tribhaṅga*. In this image, both the legs of the deity have been broken, but his four hands have been preserved. Of these, the lower right one holds a lotus with a stalk or *svadanta* (it is not clear which), the upper right is in the *abhaya-mudrā* with a rosary. The two left hands have a vessel of sweets and a *paraśu*. The ornamentation is similar to that of the images mentioned above.[9]

Seated Images

The seated images of Gaṇapati can be divided into two classes on the basis of the number of their arms, viz., two-handed and four-handed.

Two-Handed Images

Two-armed seated images of Gaṇeśa have been found very frequently on the door-sills and the outer as well as the inner walls of the temples. They are seated in the *lalitāsana* pose. All of them are adorned with a *hāra*, *keyūras*, a *mekhalā*, etc. They are very small in their size and are similar to one another; but they differ in respect of the attributes held in their hands. All of them hold the *modaka-pātra* in the left hand while the right hand holds a *paraśu*,[10] or a *sarpa*,[11] or an *akṣamālā*,[12] or an indistinct object.[13]

Four-Handed Images

We notice here some four-handed compositions also of Gaṇapati who is seated on either a big or a small pedestal in the *lalitāsana* pose. The attributes held in their hands are not depicted according to the description of any particular text. Generally, they are shown with any three of the attributes, a *padma*, a *danta*, a *paraśu*, a *sarpa*, a *modaka-pātra* in three hands; and sometimes the lower right hand is seen either in the *abhaya-mudrā*, or it holds a *danta*. The following chart will make the above statement clear.

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A.	M-	Abhaya with rosary	Paraśu	Modaka-Pātra
B.	Danta	Paraśu	Sarpa	,,
C.	Abhaya	,,	Lotus with stalk	,,
D.	Resting on right thigh	Abhaya with rosary	Sarpa	,,
E.	Danta	Paraśu	M	M
F.	Indistinct object	Lotus with stalk	Padma	Modaka-Pātra
G.	Danta	Paraśu	Latus with stalk	,,
H.	,,	Akṣamālā	Paraśu	Resting on the shoulder of a female, who is standing near him
I.	M-	,,	,,	,, (Photograph 35)
J.	Danta	Paraśu	Aṅkuśa	Modaka-Pātra

A. V.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
B. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Door-sill, W. corner.
C. Ibid., Adhiṣ niches, Outer W. Wall.
D. Ibid., Maṇḍ, N.W. corner.
E. J.T., S.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer S. Wall.
F. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Door-sill, S. corner.
G. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Door-sill, W. corner.
H. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
I. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
J. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Door-sill, S. corner.

Only three seated images of Gaṇeśa, which are found in the Sachiyā Mātā temple and the Sūrya temple, are somewhat different from the others. These are big in size and have some other peculiarities. The attributes, which they carry in their four hands, are mentioned in the chart given above.

In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, Gaṇapati, or Vighneśvara, is seated on a pedestal in the *lalitāsana* pose, with long ears, and a snake wound round his belly like a belt. The ornaments put on by him include a necklace, bracelets, armlets and anklets. In this image, the fourth hand of the deity is placed on the head of a female figurine instead of holding the *modaka-pātra*. The lady is seated on his left side with a bowl of sweets; but he is not eating from it, for his trunk has been turned towards the right. Below his left folded leg a big pot of sweets is seen, and two human beings, one on each side of the bowl, are seated on the ground. They carry probably a *chaurī*, or some indistinct object, in one of their hands. Besides these, one male *chaurī*-bearer with a *modaka-pātra*, and one female *padmadhāriṇī* are seen on each side of the deity. The *chaurī*-bearers are sculptured in a sitting posture, while the *padmadhāriṇīs* are standing behind them. Two *vidyādharas* are seen hovering over his head. They are also holding a *modaka-pātra* with both their hands, but they do not carry garlands as they usually do.[14]

A somewhat similar image is observed in the Sūrya temple, but it differs from the former in the following respects: (1) the fourth hand of the deity is resting on the head of a female, who is standing near him, and (2) two *chāmaradhāriṇīs* are standing behind the human beings in place of *padmadhāriṇīs*.[15]

One more image of Gaṇapati is noticed in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. He has two tusks. The right one is mutilated, but the left one is still visible. His proboscis is turned to the left and rests on a bowl of *laddoos*, as if he is eating them. One *modaka* is seen in his open trunk. The ornaments, which he has worn on his body, are the usual ones.[16]

The image of Gaṇapati has been described in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*, the *Uttarakārṇāgama* and the *Śilparatna*. These texts state that the image of Gaṇapati should have either two or four hands. In the former case, he should have a *paraśu* and a hatchet in his hands.[17] In the latter case, he should hold a *triśūla*, an *akṣamālā*, a *modaka-pātra* and a *paraśu*,[18] or a *svadanta*, a *kamala*, a *modaka* and a *paraśu*,[19] or a *svadanta*, a *paraśu*, a *kamala* and a *modaka*.[20]

Besides these, he should be represented with his two wives, namely, Ṛddhi and Siddhi.[21] Different names of his wives are sometimes specified in different Sanskrit texts such as Bhāratī (another name of

Sarasvatī) and Śrī[22] (Lakṣmī), Buddhi and Kubuddhi or Vighneśvarī.[23] His *vāhana*, the mouse, should be depicted with him.[24]

According to these texts, he should have a tusk, an elephant-face, a *lambodara*, *sūrpakarṇa* and a *yajñopavīta*. His body should be draped in *vyāghracharma*, and he should have either a *kirīṭa*, or a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, and the other usual ornaments on his body.

In the case of the standing image, he should be shown either in the *sambhaṅga*, or *dvibhaṅga*, or *tribhaṅga* pose, while in the case of the sitting images, his left leg should be bent and be resting on a pedestal. The right leg should be resting on the left thigh.

Nṛtya-Gaṇapati

According to certain texts, the dancing images of Gaṇeśa should have eight hands, seven of which should hold the *pāśa*, the *aṅkuśa*, the *modaka*, the *kuṭhāra*, the *danta*, the *valaya* (a quoit) and the *aṅguliya* (a ring); the remaining hand should be freely hanging so as to be helpful to the various movements of the dance.[25] But in the Osian temples, the eight-arm image of Dancing Gaṇapati has not been sculptured; only the four-and six-handed images are extant. They are only four in number. Their description is as follows.

Four-Handed Images

In one of the dancing images, Gaṇeśa is standing in a dancing pose, and has such ornaments on his body as dancers usually put on, such as necklaces, bracelets, armlets, girdles, anklets, etc., while his head is also adorned with beaded strings which go around his head. The proboscis is turned to the right. It is a four-handed image of which the lower right hand is in the *gaja-hasta* pose. The lower left hand holds a *paraśu* while the upper hand is broken. The upper left hand is in the *kaṭaka* pose.[26]

There is another four-handed dancing image of Gaṇapati, similar to the above. Here the deity is richly decorated with ornaments and a snake is tied round his big belly. The lower right hand holds a *paraśu* and the upper left hand is in the *gaja-hasta* or the *daṇḍa-hasta* pose. The other hands are broken. In these sculptures also, his mount the mouse and the other attendants are not depicted.[27] Another image of Nṛtya-Gaṇapati is found in the same temple; but the attributes are not very distinct.[28] Such images of Gaṇeśa have also been found at Khajuraho.[29]

Six-Handed Images

There is only one six-handed dancing image of Gaṇeśa at Osian. He is depicted with a *danta*, an *akṣamālā*, an *aṅkuśa*, a *sarpa* and a bowl of sweets in five of his hands, while the sixth one is in the *kaṭyavalaṁbita* pose. The trunk with one tusk rests straight on the belly. An attendant is seated on his right side with a pair of *tablās* and both his hands are engaged in playing on the instrument.[30]

Śakti-Gaṇapati or Āliṅgana-Mūrtīs of Gaṇapati

According to Gopinatha Rao, "Śakti-Gaṇeśa represents a class of images consisting of Lakṣmī-Gaṇapati, Uchchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati, Mahā-Gaṇapati, Urddhva-Gaṇapati and Piṅgala-Gaṇapati."[31] At Osian, there are two images wherein Gaṇapati is shown seated with his Śakti in the *āliṅgana-mudrā*, as Śiva with Pārvatī, Nārāyaṇa with Lakṣmī and Brahmā with Sarasvatī. In the Piplā Devī temple, Gaṇapati is seated on a big dais in the *lalitāsana* pose and Vighneśvarī is standing on his left side. He is adorned with a necklace, bracelets, armlets as also a *sarpa-yajñopavīta*. He has four hands, of which three hold an *aṅkuśa*, an *akṣamālā* and a *paraśu*, while the fourth one is embracing Vighneśvarī who has only two arms. Her right arm is placed on the right shoulder of Gaṇapati, the left one is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and is also holding a lotus. She is decked with all suitable ornaments. Gaṇeśa is *sūrpakarṇa* and has one tusk on the left side. The long proboscis is broken.[32]

In another image, Gaṇapati is seated on a seat in the *lalitāsana* pose. He has four hands. The upper and right lower hands hold a *danta* and a *padma*; the upper left hand is concealed from view, while the lower left one is clasping the two-handed Devī (Vighneśvarī), who is seated on his left thigh. Her right hand is placed on the right shoulder of Gaṇapati, while the left one is holding some indistinct object. Here the deity and his Śakti have the usual dresses and ornaments; but these are not very distinct.[33] Śakti-Gaṇapati images are also seen in the Khajuraho temples.[34]

Other Depictions of Gaṇeśa

Gaṇapati is also depicted in other compositions, as, for example, *Umā-Maheśa*, and with the Saptamātrikās. In the Umā-Maheśa *mūrtīs*, he is shown with two hands and standing to the right of Śiva. His left hand holds a *modaka-pātra*, while the right hand has an indistinct object.[35] In the small niches of Saptamātrikās, Vīrabhadra is seen in the middle and Gaṇeśa with four hands in the last niche. His lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*; the upper hands carry a *paraśu* and a *padma*. The remaining fourth hand holds a *modaka-pātra* as usual. He is adorned with the usual dress and ornaments.[36]

REFERENCES

1. Bhandarkar, R.G., *VSMRS*, p. 148.
2. *EHI*, I, I, pp. 51-61.
3. *Aṁś. Ā.*, *UTK*, vide *EHI*, I, II, p. 2.
4. *Supr. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, p. 4.
5. *Rūp. M.*, 5, 15.
6. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
7. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall; P.D.T., Sanc, Inside; Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
8. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
9. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
10. H.H.T. No. II, Door-lintel.
11. Ibid., No. III, Aṅta, Pillar; ibid., Aṅta, E. Wall; V.T. No. II, Door-lintel.
12. S.M.T., Sm. Shrine, Inside.
13. Sūrya Temple, Door-lintel; P.D.T., Maṇḍ, E. Wall.
14. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
15. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
16. S.M.T., Maṇḍ, N.W. corner.
17. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58.
18. *VDP*, 71, 13-16.
19. *Mat.*, 260, 52-55.
20. *Ap.*, 212, 35-37.
21. *Mat.*, 260, 52-55.
22. *UKĀ*, vide *EHI*, I, I, Appendix C, p. 5.
23. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, I, I, Appendix C, p. 5.
24. *Mat.*, 260, 52-55.
25. *EHI*, I, I, p. 59.
26. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, N.W. corner.
27. H.H.T. No. II, Jagatī, N.W. corner.
28. Ibid., Door-lintel.
29. Avasthi, R.A., *Khajuraho kī Deva-Pratimāyen*, p. 42, Fig. II.
30. H.H.T. No. I, S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
31. *EHI*, I, I, p. 53.
32. P.D.T., Sanc, Inside.
33. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Door-lintel.
34. Avasthi, R.A., *Khajuraho kī Deva-Pratimāyen*, p. 47.
35. S.M.T., N.E. & N.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
36. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer W. Wall.

13

THE SAURA CULT

SŪRYA is the most concrete among the solar deities. He is a Vedic god and is mentioned by different names, viz., Savitā, Puṣana, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Mitra, Aryaman, Viṣṇu, etc. They are believed to represent different aspects of solar energy.[1] Some of these names go back to the Indo-Iranian period, such as Vivasvan, where he is the same as Vivanhanta (father of Yama), Mitra, Aryaman,[2] etc. Viṣṇu is also one of the solar deities. He played an important part in the development of Bhāgavatism which we have mentioned earlier. In India the Sun has been worshipped not only in his concrete form as one of the nine planets seen in the sky, but also as one of the *Ādityas*. In India all the nine planets also came to be worshipped with the *Dvādaśādityas* in religious rituals. Their detailed description will be given in a subsequent chapter.

Most of the names mentioned above and some of the other gods, namely, Aṅśa, Dakṣa, Mārtaṇḍa, etc., constituted the *Āditya-Gaṇas*. In the early Vedic period, the number of *Ādityas* was indefinite, but later on it was fixed at twelve and they came to be known as *Dvādaśādityas*.[3]

As pointed out by Dr Banerjea, "Ṛgvedic hymns to Sūrya contain many epithets which had a hand in influencing many of his traits in the post-Vedic age. In one of the hymns in *Ṛgveda* he is described as 'a white, brilliant steed brought by Ūṣas';[4] from such descriptions originated the concept of Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu, and Tārkṣya, the horse-mount of the Sun-god himself. Another hymn states that Sūrya has a chariot drawn by a steed called *Etaśa*,[5] or by seven horses,[6] or by several horses.[7] The idea of the god riding a chariot drawn by four, five or seven horses was already well formulated in Ṛgvedic hymns, so frequently found in the post-Vedic texts and illustrated in early reliefs. The elaborate story current in the Epics and *Purāṇas* about Sūrya's marriage to Viśvakarmā's daughter, Saṁjñā, her desertion of him after leaving with him her shadow (*Chhāyā*) for her inability to bear his effulgence, Viśvakarmā's attempt to reduce this in order that his daughter might endure it, had its origin in the Vedic myth about the marriage of Saraṇyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭār, to Vivasvat, the Sun-god."[8]

The epics contain many references to the worship of Sūrya and also his different aspects. At one place he is even described as *Deveśvara*.[9] Later Sanskrit texts also contain similar references. They

clearly prove that sun-worship was well known and sun-worshippers had their individual sect, known as *Sauras*, and were found in Northern India as well as in Southern India. They believe that Sūrya is the infinite Power and Creator of the universe.

In Northern India, it appears that there was some foreign influence which undoubtedly contributed to the growth of Sun worship in this part of India from the early centuries of the Christian era. On the other hand, there is no trace of any foreign influence in the development of the Sun cult in Southern India.

Regarding Sun worship in Northern India, Varāhamihira tells us that the installation and consecration of the images and temples of the Sun should be made by the *Maga* priests. They are believed to be identical with the *Magi*, the ancient priests of Iran. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*[10] states an interesting story about the worship of the Sun-god (Sūrya) in the North, and *Varāha*, *Sāmba* and a few other *Purāṇas* also give a similar story about the worship of Sūrya. According to the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, "Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, constructed a temple of the Sun on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā, the modern Chenāb in the Punjāb, and no local Brāhmaṇa would accept the office of a regular priest of the temple. He thereupon asked Gaurmukha, the priest of Ugrasena. He told him to get Magas who were special sun-worshippers from *Śākadvīpa*."[11] Though there is no mention anywhere of the conception of Sūrya's image, it is clear from the story mentioned above that the worship of the Sun or *Mihira* worship was introduced in Northern India by the old Persian priest, the *Maga*.[12]

Free from any foreign influence, the Southern variety of Sun images is different from the Northern images. The Southern image is purely Indian in conception. The Sun-god represented in the South is clad in a *dhotī*, is bare-footed, and has invariably the *udarabandha*. He holds half-bloomed lotuses in his hands raised up to the level of the shoulders.

The North Indian images, on the other hand, are dressed in the style of a Kuṣāṇa emperor, putting on socks, high-boots, trousers, a close-fitting long coat, and sometimes a peaked cap. The lotus flowers in his hands are full blossomed and reach up to the level of the head.

The common features of both the Southern and Northern varieties of Sūrya are that the head is generally adorned with a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* surrounded by the *prabhāmaṇḍala*. The characteristic seven horses and their driver Aruṇa are usually shown.[13]

At Osian, curiously enough, we find both the Northern and the Southern varieties of the image of Sūrya. Generally speaking, in the standing images he is dressed in *udīchayaveśa* and conforms to the other details of the Northern variety. In the case of the seated images, however, he is usually represented as bare-footed and clad in a *dhotī*. This type of Sūrya's image conforms to the description of the Southern variety. One thing which we notice here is that in most cases, whether standing or seated, he holds full-blown lotuses in his hands which go up to the shoulder level (Photographs 39 & 42), though in some cases his hands holding full-blown lotuses go up to the head level (Photograph 38); but in one case his hands are raised up to head level and hold half-blossomed lotuses in place of the full-blown ones (Photograph 40). This type of image entirely conforms to the description of the South Indian variety. In all these images, his head is adorned with either a *kirīṭa* or a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and has other ornaments, such as *kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvali*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *mekhalā* (*avyaṅga*), *vanamālā* and *yajñopavīta*. Both these types of images are also noticed in the Khajuraho sculptures.[14]

Standing Images

Most of the standing images of Sūrya, which have been sculptured on the facades of the Osian temples, are depicted with two hands. Their description is as follows.

In Harihara temple No. I, we have an image of Sūrya, standing *sambhaṅga*, holding a lotus with a stalk in his hands raised up to his shoulder level. He wears trousers, full-sleeved armour and high boots. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, his usual attendants, are standing on his right and left. Here Piṅgala is not depicted with pen and paper, his usual attributes; both his hands are resting on his chest, while Daṇḍa is holding his usual emblem, the *śakti*.[15]

There is another image of Sūrya in the same temple. He is standing *sambhaṅga* with high boots on a lotus throne. Here he holds lotus buds with stalks in place of full blossoms, and is dressed in the manner described above. In this case we also notice a scarf tied around his waist. Piṅgala and another attendant are standing on the right side of the deity. Piṅgala holds a pen in his right hand and a manuscript in the left. Similarly, Daṇḍa is shown standing on the left with his right hand holding the top of a long *śakti* and his left hand round its bottom. In a separate niche on either side of the Sun-god, we notice the representations of his two queens, Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā, holding bows and arrows (Photograph 40).[16]

The figure of the Sun-god is depicted in the same manner in other temples also. He is standing *sambhaṅga* on a lotus throne, holding full-blown lotuses, raised up to head level. He wears the usual ornaments including the *vanamālā* reaching down to his knees, and he is also clad in a *dhotī* and an armour (a curious blend of the Northern and Southern types). A scarf is shown around his shoulders and it is knotted in the front. His two attendants, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, are shown standing in the usual fashion (Photograph 38).[17]

In the Sūrya temple, the image of Sūrya is depicted with two arms as usual; but they are both mutilated. This image is also sculptured in the *sambhaṅga* pose and is adorned with the usual ornaments. He is decked with armour, trousers and a scarf which is seen around his neck. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are standing with their respective attributes on either side of the god.[18] Pupul Jayakar rightly observes, "The image of Sūrya in the Osian temples is a remarkable one. He stands erect in primitive tenseness. His face has lotus eyes and his mouth has inherited the compassion and gentleness of the Gupta god, Viṣṇu, but his hair is bound in two long plaits, symbol of his central Asian origin. His waist is bound by an *avyaṅga* or belt and on his feet are high boots."[19]

Seated Images

There are several seated images of the Sun-god in Osian. In Harihara temple No. I, he is seated on his haunches in a one-wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses. He is holding full-blossomed lotuses in his two hands which are raised up to the shoulders. The figure of Aruṇa, the charioteer, is missing. The god is putting on a *dhotī*, the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and the usual ornaments. His feet and forelegs are bare.[20]

A remarkable image of Sūrya represents him as a warrior. He is supposed to be driving away darkness with his bow and arrow. He is seated on a one-wheeled chariot which is drawn by horses, but their number is not clear. He is shooting arrows with two hands. He is putting on an armour and probably a *dhotī*. On his back he has a quiver full of arrows which is tied with leather straps. One man is seated with folded hands on the ground behind the chariot. He might be an attendant of Sūrya. The Sun-god is wearing the usual ornaments.[21]

In Harihara temple No. II, the figure of Sūrya is shown seated on a chariot which is drawn by seven horses. They are sculptured in front of the chariot. In this image he is wearing a *dhotī*, its folds being tucked up at the rear, and he is bare-footed, facing front. Both his arms are broken. He is adorned with a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* on his head. The other ornaments are not very clear.[22]

The seated images of Sūrya are also noticed in the panel of Navagrahas. These will be described with the nine planets.[23]

The description of the image of Sūrya is found in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. These texts state that he should be shown as seated or standing. In the former variety, he should have either two or four hands. In the case of the two-handed image, he should hold two lotuses raised up to shoulder level.[24] In the latter variety, he should hold two lotuses, as in the case of the seated images.[25] In this case a *siṁha-dhvaja* should be represented on his left side.[26]

In the case of the seated image, he should be shown seated on a one-wheeled chariot drawn by one,[27] or seven,[28] brilliant horses and driven by the lame Aruṇa. In the case of the standing image, he should be standing on a *padma-pīṭha*.[29]

In both cases, the usual attendants, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, should be standing on either side of him. Daṇḍa should hold a *charma* (*kheṭaka*) and *śūla*; Piṅgala should carry paper and pen in his hands. Some of the texts mention either two wives[30] (Rājinī and Nikṣubhā), or four wives[31] (Rājinī, Suvarṇā, Suvarchasā and Chhāyā), who should be figured with the image of Sūrya.

Most texts prescribe that the image of Sūrya should be dressed in *udīchayaveśa*[32] and an armour. His legs should be covered with long socks and high boots. He should be adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, a *hāra*, a *yajñopavīta*, a *puṣpamālā* and should have either a *kirīṭa* with a *puṣparāga* (ruby),[33] or a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.[34] His head should be encircled with *kāntimaṇḍala*. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala should also be dressed like Sūrya.

At Osian, we notice both these types of the images of Sūrya. The standing images are quite similar to the description given in the texts; but here only two wives of the deity are represented. They are either Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā, or Rāgī and Nikṣubhā.

Dhātrī-Sūrya

Dhātrī is an *Āditya*. His name comes first in the list of *Dvādaśādityas*. According to the *Viśvakarma-śāstra*, he should have four arms, the two lower or natural ones should carry two lotuses, while the two upper ones should have a *pauṣkarī-mālā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*.[35]

At Osian, only two images of Dhātrī-Sūrya have been found, one standing and the other seated.

Standing Image

The standing image of Dhātrī-Sūrya is a remarkable one. He has four hands. The two upper hands are holding full-blown lotuses at head level, while the two lower hands have been damaged. He is clad in an armour and trousers, tied with a belt (*avyaṅga*), and high boots. Piṅgala and Daṇḍa, the usual attendants of the god, are standing. The former, to the right, holds a pen and a paper in his hands, and the latter carries a *śakti* with his right hand and the left rests on his thigh. They also wear high boots like the deity. Goddess Pṛthvī is standing down below in the *sambhaṅga* pose. There is a standing female figure to the right and left of Piṅgala and Daṇḍa, respectively. The left one holds a pot in her right hand at shoulder level, and the left hand is resting on her thigh. The right hand of the lady standing on the right side is placed on her thigh. Her left hand is broken. They have worn *sārīs*, scarves and the usual ornaments. They may be Rājinī and Nikṣubhā, two of the wives of Sūrya. Two Nāginīs are shown over their heads as if they are providing shade with their hoods. Two flying Vidyādharas can be seen having garlands in their hands. They appear to be coming down to garland the deity (Photograph 42).[36]

Seated Image

An image in the Sachiyā Mātā temple shows the god seated cross-legged on his chariot drawn by five horses. The horses are represented as galloping over a pile of round objects, probably representing the *Aṣṭāchala* mountain. Aruṇa, holding the reins of the horses in his hands, is seated on the front part of the chariot. The Sun-god is seated, facing right and not front. He is bare-footed and is clad in a *dhotī*. His two upper hands are raised up to his shoulders and hold full-blown lotuses. In the lower right hand, he is holding an *akṣamālā* and the lower left hand holds a *ghaṭa*, but both of them are resting on his thighs. The god is putting on a *mukuṭa*, breast plates and *kuṇḍalas* in his ears. The chariot has only one wheel on the right side. If there is another wheel also, it is not noticeable.[37]

Revanta

At Osian, only two images of Revanta have been sculptured near the images of the Sun-god. In one

of the two images he is shown seated on the back of a well-caparisoned horse as an expert rider. His left foot rests on a stirrup, while his right leg is concealed from view. His left hand has an indistinct object which may be a cup of wine. The right hand is also hidden from view like the right leg, but from his posture, it appears that he is holding the reins of the horse. An attendant, seated behind Revanta, is raising an umbrella over his head. The deity is clad in the usual dress including high-boots reaching up to the calves like god Sūrya, and he is adorned with *ekāvali*, *kuṇḍalas*, and has also the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. The dog is missing here, but a sword and a shield are tied to the back of the horse. A man is standing in front of the horse, holding an indistinct object.[38]

Another image of Revanta is noticed in one of the niches of the Sūrya temple. In this image he is shown seated on the back of a horse followed by a dog. Here he holds the reins of the horse with his left hand, but his right hand is mutilated. He might have had a whip in this hand. An umbrella-holder is also noticed as in the previous case.[39]

Revanta is one of the four sons of Sūrya. The description of his image is found in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[40] and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. According to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Revanta should be shown riding a horse and should be engaged in hunting in the company of his companions. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*,[41] he should be depicted like God Sūrya and should be riding a horse.

The depictions of Revanta noticed at Osian generally conform to the descriptions given in the texts.[42]

REFERENCES

1. Suryakant, *Vedic Devaśāstra*, p. 75.
2. Ibid., pp. 98-103.
3. In *Ṛgveda* they are only six in number, namely, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa and Aṅśa (Suryakant, *Vedic Devaśāstra*, p. 103). The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* gives their number as eight, namely, Dhātā, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṅśa, Bhaga, Indra and Vivasvān (1, 1, 9, 1-3). *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions their number as twelve corresponding to the twelve months of the year (6, 1, 2, 8; 11, 6, 3, 8). The Epics and *Purāṇas* also fixed their number at twelve, namely, Dhātrī, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhaga, Vivasvān, Puṣana, Savitā, Tvaṣṭā and Viṣṇu. *DHI* (1956), p. 429.
4. *Ṛv.*, 7, 77, 3.
5. Ibid., 7, 63, 2.
6. Ibid., 5, 45, 9.
7. Ibid., 1, 115, 3, 10, 37, 3; 10, 49, 7.
8. *DHI* (1956), pp, 429-30.
9. *MBh.*, 2, 46, 16.
10. *Bhav.*, Chap. 139.
11. Bhandarkar, R.G., *VSMRS*, p. 153.
12. Cf. Bhandarkar, R.G., *VSMRS*, p. 153. There is an inscription at Govindpur in the Gaya district dated *Śaka* 1059, corresponding to 1137-38 A.D., in the opening stanza of which the *Magas*, who sprang from the sun, are represented to have been brought into the country by Sāmba.
13. *EHI*, I, II, p. 312.
14. Avasthi, R.A., *KDP*, pp. 170-74.
15. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
16. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
17. Ibid., Nos. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. & W. Walls; V.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
18. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
19. Jayakar, Pupul, *Marg*, Vol. 12 (1958-59), p. 58; see also Jaina, K.C., *JUPHS*, Vol. VIII (1966 New Series), p. 29.
20. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, E. Wall.
21. It is a big stone piece now kept in Mandor Museum.
22. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, E. Wall.
23. Infra.
24. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 46-48; *VDP*, 67; *Mat.*, 261, 1-8; *Ag.*, 51, 1-3; *Bhav.*, 124, 13-30.
25. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, pp. 306-7.
26. *VDP*, 67.
27. *Ag.*, 51, 1-3.
28. Ibid., *VDP*, 67.
29. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, pp. 306-7.
30. Ibid.
31. *VDP*, 67; *Supr. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, p. 307.
32. Ibid., 67; *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 46; *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, pp. 306-7.
33. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, I, II, p. 307.
34. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, pp. 306-7.
35. दक्षिणे पोष्करी माला करे वामे कमण्डलुः ।
पद्भ्यां शोभितकरा सा धात्री प्रथमा स्मृता ।।
EHI, I, II, Appendix C, p. 86.
36. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Inside.
37. *EHI*, I, II, Appendix C, p. 86.
38. H.H.T. No. I, S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
39. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
40. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 56.
41. *VDP*, 70, 5.
42. See for details B.N. Sharma's *Iconography of Revanta*, New Delhi, 1975.

14

SYNCRETIC IMAGES

BESIDES the images of individual gods and goddesses, there are also a few syncretic images at Osian. Such icons are important as they represent an interesting phenomenon in Brahmanical iconography. Generally speaking, devotees of different Brahmanical gods and goddesses lived in peace and harmony with one another; but there did exist jealousies and rivalries amongst them. These rivalries were not only confined to the sectarian texts but were also reflected in their icons which represented the superiority of one god or goddess over other gods or goddesses. To this class belong such images as the Nṛsiṁha image of Viṣṇu or Śarabha, Liṅgodbhava and Kāmāṅtakamūrtīs of Śiva.

Simultaneously developed the other icons which represented the essential unity between different gods of the Brahmanical pantheon. The objective behind such images was to demonstrate visually the oneness of Brahmanical gods. The stories which explain these interesting compositions are given in the *Purāṇas*, *Āgamas*, and similar other texts. They served to remove sectarian jealousies and rancour. Certain images of this type are noticed at Osian also. They include the Harihara, Arddhanārīśvara and Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha images. Harihara images represent the essential unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu; Arddhanārīśvara represents Śiva and Śakti, while the last image covers a wider field and represents the unity of Brahmanical gods, viz., Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā.

Harihara Images

There are three temples at Osian named after Harihara. At present, the sanctum of none of these temples contains any image installed therein, but on the lintels leading to them we have the figures of *garuḍāsana*-Viṣṇu. This undoubtedly suggests that these temples were dedicated to Viṣṇu; but we cannot say definitely whether it was the 'Harihara' or any other form of Viṣṇu that was originally installed in them. However, the images of Harihara are extant in the principal niches of the outer walls of these temples which might have derived their present names from these images.

The concept of Harihara is very interesting. It represents the synthesis of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

The origin of this cult is stated in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*.[1] Only four Harihara images exist at Osian. Vertically the left half of the image represents Viṣṇu and the right half Śiva. Generally speaking, these are all alike; but they differ in certain respects.

In one of the images, the right half of the image holds a *triśūla* in the upper right hand, and the lower right is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and has an *akṣamālā*, while the upper and lower left hands of the left half carry a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha*. Nandī, the *vāhana* of Śiva, is seen on the right side of the deity. To the right of Nandī, a *śiva-gaṇa* stands with a *triśūla* in his left hand and the right hand rests on his thigh. There is a corresponding figure to the left of the image, whose right hand rests on his chest, and his left hand is placed on his thigh. He may be Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Viṣṇu.[2]

The second image of the deity carries the same *āyudhas* in the two upper hands and the lower left hand, but the lower right is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. Nandī is standing on the right side of the deity. A worshipper or a *śiva-gaṇa* is seated to the right of Nandī with his hands in the *añjali-mudrā*. Another male figure is seen in the same pose to the left of the image. He may be a worshipper or Garuḍa. A *chāmaradhāriṇī* is standing to the right of the god.[3]

A third composition of the deity holds a *padma* in the lower right hand, the two upper hands carry a *triśūla* and a *chakra*, the lower left arm is partly broken, only a *śaṅkha* is visible on his *kaṭi*. A *śiva-gaṇa* is standing *tribhaṅga* on the right side holding a *triśūla* in his right hand and the left rests on the chest. Similarly, a *chakra-purūṣa* is standing *tribhaṅga* on the left side with a *chakra* in his right hand, while the left is in the *kaṭyavalaṁbita* pose.[4] In the fourth image, the two lower hands are broken, but the two upper ones hold a *triśūla* with a *sarpa* coiled round it and a *chakra*. A *śiva-gaṇa* and Nandī are standing on the right side, the former carrying a *triśūla* in his left hand and his right hand rests on his thigh, while on the left side a *padma-purūṣa* and Garuḍa are standing. The last one holds a *sarpa* in his left hand (Photograph 41).[5]

There is a vast difference in the ornamentation of these images. The right half has a serpent as an ornament together with the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and *naramuṇḍamālā*, while the left half has round *kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvali*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras* including a long *vanamālā* and the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. There is only one *mekhalā* as well as a *yajñopavīta* on the image.

The description of the right half of Harihara-*mūrti* is given in the *Śilparatna* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, whereas the left half of the *mūrti* is discussed in other Sanskrit works, such as the *Rūpamaṇḍana* which gives a detailed description of this composite *mūrti*. According to these texts, the image should be sculptured as four-handed. One of the right hands should be held either in the *varada*[6] or *abhaya-mudrā*,[7] and the other three hands should carry a *triśūla*, a *chakra* and a *padma*, or the two right and left hands (probably the upper ones) should be held in the *abhaya* and *kaṭaka* poses, and the other two should hold a *paraśu* and a *śaṅkha*.[8] Some texts also give different descriptions of the attributes of this image.

The right half of the deity should be wearing *vyāghracharma* and should have the *sarpa-yajñopavīta*, *sarpa-mekhalā* and *sarpa-nūpura*. The left half (Viṣṇu) should have *makara-kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *nūpuras* and *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*.

It is also stated in the texts that the image of Harihara should be standing either in the *sambhaṅga* pose or it should have its left leg slightly bent on a *padmāsana*. The right half should be in *Ugra-rūpa*, while the left half should be in *Śānta-rūpa*. A *prabhāmaṇḍala* or a *śīrṣachakra* should be sculptured behind the head of this image. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* state that the figures of Nandī and Garuḍa should be shown on the right and left sides, respectively, of this image.

The Osian images of Harihara usually carry attributes somewhat similar to those stated in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, except that the *śaṅkha* is not mentioned in these two texts, but is present in these images. The rest of the details are similar to those described above.

Arddhanārīśvara Images

The Arddhanārīśvara form of Śiva represents "Two fundamentally opposite cosmic forces, named

prakṛti and *purūṣa*, which are constantly drawn together to embrace, to fuse with each other, but separated by an intervening axis."[9] The story which explains this image and its forms is given in the *Śiva Purāṇa* and in several iconographic texts.[10]

This image is noticed in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. It is sculptured in a dual form, the left half being female and the right half male. Its concept is similar to that of Harihara where the right half is Hara and the left half Hari. The deity is standing *tribhaṅga* and has four hands; of these the upper right hand holds a trident and the upper left has a mirror, while the two lower hands are mutilated. Nandī is standing down below near the male side. The male half is adorned with the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and other usual ornaments of Śiva. The female half has a *dhammilla* and is putting on ornaments such as a *hāra*, round *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc. The breast is also noticed prominently on this side. This image, though old, does not appear to be original. It seems to have been fixed later on at its present place.[11]

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* and other Sanskrit texts give a detailed description of the image of Arddhanārīśvara. According to the texts, he should have two, or three, or four hands. In the case of the four-handed image, the type represented at Osian, the two right hands should have as attributes either a *triśūla* and an *akṣamālā*,[12] or a *kapāla* and a *triśūla*.[13] A slightly different description is found in other Sanskrit texts. The right half should be adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, a *sarpa-yajñopavīta*, a *sarpa-mekhalā* and a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on the head.

As regards the description of the goddess (left half in the four-handed image), one of the left hands should be bent and placed on the head of the bull, the usual *vāhana* of Śiva, and the other should be held either in the *kaṭaka* pose carrying a *nīlotapala*,[14] or should be shown holding a mirror and a lotus.[15] The left half of the image should have a vermilion mark on the forehead and should be adorned with *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *mekhalā*, *nūpuras*, etc. The goddess should have either a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, or the hair should be elaborately tied in a knot, and should have a prominent breast, and the left foot should be on a *padmāsana*, the leg being either straight or slightly bent.

The image of Arddhanārīśvara, which we notice at Osian, is quite identical with the description given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha Images

A more syncretic image represents a blending of four principal deities of Brahmanism, namely, Hari, Hara, Brahmā and Sūrya. There are three such images at Osian. Dr Bhandarkar remarked about them, "They have not yet been traced in temples prior to the 11th century A.D. We find them actually sculptured in the shrines round about the Sachiyā Mātā temple and in many other temples at such places as Delmal (North Gujarat), Bhaval in Jodhpur State and so forth."[16]

All the three images found at Osian are preserved in the Sachiyā Mātā temple. They are similar to one another, with some minor variations in details. They represent a four-headed and eight-armed deity. Three of the heads represent Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and the fourth, that of Brahmā, is concealed from view.

The first image is sculptured on the north-west subsidiary shrine of the Sachiyā Mātā temple. The three-headed and eight-armed deity is standing *sambhaṅga*. Four of his right and left hands have been mutilated. The rest of them are holding two lotuses, a trident and a snake. Two horse-faced Aśvinīs, one on each side of the deity, are seated on their bent knees with folded hands. Near them, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are standing with their respective attributes in their right hands, while their left hands rest on the *kaṭi*. In front of the Sun-god, goddess Pṛthvī is standing with her hands hanging down. Two male figures, one on each side, are also seen by the side of the Aśvini figures.[17]

The second image is sculptured on the south-west shrine of the same temple. It also has three heads and eight arms. Of these, two front hands hold lotuses and two surviving back hands carry a trident and a discus. The others are broken. Of the three heads, two bear the *mukuṭas*, respectively, of Sūrya and Viṣṇu, while the third has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The figures carved on the right side of the deity are a bull and a *haṁsa*, the respective *vāhanas* of Śiva and Brahmā, but Garuḍa is missing. Two horse-faced

Aśvinīs are standing with their hands in the *añjali-mudrā* on the left side of the deity. By the side of the Aśvinīs, Daṇḍa with *śakti* in both his hands and Piṅgala with a pen and paper are standing. The principal deity is wearing high boots with socks on the legs, a heavy girdle (*avyaṅga*) round the waist and an armour. The most interesting feature is the scarf which he has tied round his shoulders (Photograph 39).[18]

A third image of this deity has been found on the north-east subsidiary shrine of the same temple. Six of his hands have been mutilated; but the remaining two hold a trident with a snake coiled round it and a *chakra* (the symbols of Śiva and Viṣṇu). The upper portion of the deity is broken; but it can only be identified with the help of Sūrya's dress. In this image, a small figure of goddess Pṛthvī is standing between the legs of Sūrya. The other details, like the bull, the *haṁsa*, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala and Aśvini brothers are sculptured in the same manner as in the images described above. This image is also adorned with the usual ornaments.[19]

A seated image of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha is noticed in the Dula Deo temple at Khajuraho. Though some of the attributes are similar, the others are different.[20]

The image of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha has been described in the *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and the *Śāradātilaka*. According to these texts this image should be sculptured with four faces and eight arms. Sūrya should be depicted between Śiva and Viṣṇu with two hands holding two lotuses. Śiva and Viṣṇu should be represented on his right and left, respectively. The former god should hold a *khaṭvāṅga* and a *triśūla*. The latter god should carry a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra*. The figure of Brahmā with a *kamaṇḍalu* and an *akṣamālā* should be behind Sūrya.[21]

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3. Ibid., No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
4. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
5. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
6. *VDP*, 55, 1-6.
7. *Rūp. M.*, 4, 30-31.
8. *ŚR*, 12, 129-36.
9. *JUPHS*, XXII (1949), p. 129.
10. *EHI*, II, I, pp. 321-23.
11. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall; cf. Bhandarkar, D.R., *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 114; *JIH*, Vol. 36 (1958), p. 231.
12. *VDP*, 55, 1-6.
13. *Mat.*, 260, 1-10.
14. *EHI*, II, I, p. 325.
15. *VDP*, 55, 1-6; *Mat.*, 260, 1-10.
16. Bhandarkar, D.R., *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 114.
17. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
18. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
19. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
20. Avasthi, R.A., *Khajuraho kī Deva-Pratimāyen*, p. 180; see also *DHI* (1956), p. 352.
21. *Ap.*, 213, 32-34; *Śāradātilaka*, 14, 41-42.

OTHER ADEITIES

Brahmā

BRAHMĀ, one of the members of the Hindu Trinity, is regarded as the Creator of the universe. He is, therefore, designated as *Prajāpati*. He is one of the Vedic gods, but in course of time, he ceased to be an object of worship. This has been explained by the story given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc. Various explanations have been offered for this strange development. In the present day, temples are not constructed in his honour. Even in mediaeval times, his image occupied a subsidiary position in Brahmanical temples. At Osian, no temple dedicated to Brahmā exists. His images, few in number, are noticed on the outer wall of Harihara temple Nos. I and II, the Sūrya temple and the Sachiyā Mātā temple.

Most of the images of Brahmā found in Osian temples are standing *sambhaṅga* on a lotus throne with two or four hands, but there are only three seated images. In one seated image, he is shown with his consort, Sāvitrī, and in the other two he is seated alone on a *padmāsana*. One thing which we notice in these images is the absence of his *vāhana*, the *haṁsa*. The deity is usually depicted with a long beard, but in one case he is represented without it. The one-headed images of Brahmā need special mention. One of them is in the Sūrya temple and the other one is preserved in the Sachiyā Mātā temple.

Two-Handed Standing Images

In two of the images, he is standing *sambhaṅga* on a lotus throne and has two arms. The right arms are broken, while the left hands carry a *kamaṇḍalu*. Brahmā is clad in a *dhotī* and has also matted locks on his three heads, the fourth one being concealed. His person is adorned with *ekāvali*, *kuṇḍalas*, *yajñopavīta*, *kaṭi-sūtra*, etc.[1]

Four-Handed Standing Images

In Harihara temple No. I, the four-handed standing image of Brahmā is also shown on a lotus throne in the *sambhaṅga* pose. On the three heads that are visible, he has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* which is neatly arranged. His body is adorned with the usual ornaments, *ekāvali*, *kuṇḍalas*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras*, *kaṭi-sūtra* and *yajñopavīta*. The lower left hand is broken and the other three hold a *kamaṇḍalu*, a *pustaka* and a *sruva*. He is clad in a *dhotī*; a piece of cloth is visible around his knees.[2] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, the deity is standing in the same pose. The *āyudhas*, held in three of his hands, are exactly the same as in the image described above, but here the lower right hand is in the *varada-mudrā*. The ornamentation of the deity is similar to the above, but he has not tied a *yogapaṭṭa* round his knees.[3]

In the Sūrya temple, his standing posture is the same, but the objects which he holds in four of his hands are different from the above two. The lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the lower left hand is holding a *pustaka*, while the two upper hands carry an *akṣamālā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. He is adorned with the usual ornaments.[4]

Seated Images

In one of the seated images of Brahmā noticed on the door-lintel of the Sūrya temple, his atributes are not distinct, because the image is badly mutilated. He is seated cross-legged on a *padmāsana* with a piece of cloth wound round his knees.[5] In the second image, his right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the left is holding a *kamaṇḍalu*. He is seated on a *padmāsana* as usual.[6]

Brahmā with Consort or Āliṅgana-Mūrti

There is only one image of Brahmā with his consort. It is noticed in Harihara temple No. II. He is shown with his legs crossed on a lotus throne. His consort, Sāvitrī, is seated on his left thigh. She has two arms. Her right arm is placed on the right shoulder of Brahmā, but the left is not distinct. The attributes which Brahmā holds in his hands are not clear.[7]

The image of Brahmā has been described in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Śilparatna*, the *Suprabhedāgama*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc. These texts state that he should have either two or four hands. In the former case, he should have either only a *kamaṇḍalu*[8] in one of his hands, or a *kamaṇḍalu* and an *akṣamālā* in his two hands.[9] In the latter case, he should have either an *akṣamālā*, a *sruva*, a *kuṇḍikā* and an *ājyasthālī*,[10] or one of his hands should be held in the *varada-mudrā* and the other three hands should hold a *sruva*, a *sruka* and a *kamaṇḍalu*,[11] or an *akṣamālā*, a *sruka*, a *pustaka*, a *kamaṇḍalu* in the four hands.[12]

These texts further mention that Brahmā should have four faces (*chaturmukha*), facing the four cardinal quarters of the universe. He should be seated or standing, either on a *padma-pīṭha*[13] or a *haṁsa*[14] or a chariot drawn by seven or several *haṁsas*[15] or *lambakūrchāsana*.[16] Brahmā should be represented with a long beard and a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. He should be depicted either with one consort, Sāvitrī,[17] or with two, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī.[18]

The Osian images of Brahmā usually carry the same attributes as are mentioned in the texts, with the exception that goddess Sarasvatī, the *haṁsa* and the *lambakūrchāsana* are not found here.

Kārttikeya

Skanda or Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, and the commander of the celestial armies, was a popular deity of worship in the epic and later periods.[19]

At Osian, three standing and two seated images have been found. Of the first ones, one is two-handed, and the other two are four-handed. The seated two are also four-handed.

Two-Handed Standing Images

The two-handed standing images carry a *pāśa* in the right hand and the left is placed on his *kaṭi*. He is standing *tribhaṅga* on a pedestal. A peacock, with its head raised towards its master, is shown on the left side of the deity. This image does not seem to be an original one; it appears to have been fixed later.[20]

Four-Handed Standing Images

In one of the four-handed images, Kārttikeya is standing in front of his *vāhana*, the peacock, whose face is raised upwards as if it is looking at its master. He has four hands, of which the lower right carries some fruit, the lower left a *kheṭaka*, while the two upper ones carry a *khaḍga* and a *śakti* with a long *daṇḍa*.[21]

In the second image, Kārttikeya is standing *sambhaṅga* on a lotus throne. In this case the lower hands are broken, while the two upper hands hold a *khaḍga* and a *kheṭaka*. His mount, the peacock, is seen just behind the deity with its head towards the right. An attendant is standing to the left of the god. The attributes which he holds in his hands are not very distinct.[22]

Seated Images

The four-handed images of Kārttikeya have been found in Harihara temple No. III[23] and the Sachiyā Mātā temple.[24] He is riding a peacock and carries in his three hands a *khaḍga*, a *kheṭaka* and some fruit, while the lower right hand holds an indistinct object. He is adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and also some other ornaments.

Kārttikeya has six faces (*ṣaḍānana*), but in the images described above, only three faces are visible. The other three are concealed from view. He is clad in *dhotī* and scarf. His person is adorned with different types of ornaments and has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on his head.

Besides the independent images, he is also sculptured in the *āliṅgana-murtīs* of Umā-Mahésa. He is standing *tribhaṅga* to the left of Umā with a long *śakti* in his right hand and the left has an indistinct object. In this image he has probably one face. He is clad in a *dhotī* and is adorned with *hāra*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras*, *vanamālā* and *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* (Photograph 34).[25]

The image of Kārttikeya has been described in different Sanskrit texts, such as the *Kumāratantrāgama*, the *Śritatvanidhi*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and others. These texts mention that he should have two, four, six, or ten hands. In the case of the two-handed image (one of the two types represented at Osian), he should carry a *kukkuṭa* and a *śakti* in his hands.[26] In the case of the four-handed image, one of his right hands should carry a *khaḍga* and the other should be held either in the *varada-* or *abhaya-mudrā*, while the two left hands should hold a *śakti* and a *pāśa*,[27] or a *śakti*, a *khaḍga*, a *kukkuṭa* and a *kheṭaka* in his four hands.[28]

These texts further state that he should have either one[29] or six[30] faces and he should have the peacock, his usual *vāhana*.[31] He should be youthful in his appearance and have the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.[32]

The two-handed image of Kārttikeya which is noticed with Śiva-Pārvatī in the Sachiyā Mātā temple holds a *śakti* in his right hand as mentioned in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, but the left hand is not clear. The independent image of Kārttikeya has a *pāśa* in his right hand, his left hand rests on his *kaṭi*; whereas the attributes mentioned in the text are quite different, to wit, a *kukkuṭa* and a *śakti* as mentioned in the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. So far as the attributes of the four-handed images are concerned, they also differ in some respects from the texts: (i) the fruit held by Kārttikeya, in one of his four hands, is mentioned neither by the *Rūpamaṇḍana* nor by the *Kumāratantrāgama*, (ii) the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is not mentioned in the texts which, on the other hand, prescribe the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*. Incidentally, Kārttikeya appearing with Śiva-Pārvatī in the Sachiyā Mātā temple does have the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* (Photograph 34). The *pāśa*, the *kukkuṭa*, and the *varada-* and *abhaya-mudrās* mentioned in the texts are not found in our images.

Aśvini-Devatās

At Osian, only four of their representations have been found. Of these, one is independent, and the other three are noticed with the images of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha. In the former case, Aśvini-devatās are standing *sambhaṅga* on a throne, holding vessels, maybe their *oṣadhi-pātras*, in their left hand and the right is in the *abhaya-mudrā*.[33] In the other cases, they are usually shown as seated or standing with their hands in the *añjalī-mudrā*. Both of them are clad in a *dhotī* and have the usual ornaments.[34]

The images of Aśvini-devatās have been described in different texts, such as the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Suprabhedāgama*, the *Śilparatna* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*. According to these texts, each one of these two *devatās* should have two arms. The right hand should be held either in the *abhaya* pose,[35] or it should hold vessels of drugs.[36] The left hand should hold a book.

These texts prescribe that these gods should be depicted as horse-faced and be seated on a *siṁhāsana* in the *lalitāsana* pose. They should have a *yajñopavīta* and beautiful ornaments and they should be adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. Their eyes should be like lotus flowers. Two *chāmaradhāriṇīs*, namely, Mṛtasanjīvinī and Viśalyakaraṇī, one on each side of these gods, should be shown as waving *chāmaras*. The figures of Dhanvantari and Ātreya should be shown on the left of these gods. They should carry *khaḍgas* and *kheṭakas* in their hands[37] but according to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* two goddesses, namely, Rūpasampatt and Ākṛti should be standing one on each side of the Aśvini-devatās. They should each hold a *ratnapātra* in their hands.[38]

In the images of Aśvini-devatās found at Osian, we notice in one image an *oṣadhi-pātra* held in the left hand, and the right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, as described in the texts. The other features in the images do not tally with those given in the texts.

Navagrahas

The worship of Navagrahas has been always popular in India. As a matter of fact, worship is offered to them at the commencement of all ritualistic ceremonies. The Navagrahas, as the name itself signifies, are the nine Planets, namely, Sūrya, Soma, Bhauma, Budha, Gurū, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu.

They are represented both symbolically and anthropomorphically. At Osian we notice their anthropomorphic representations on the lintels of the door leading to the sanctums as well as the subsidiary shrines of almost every temple.

Altogether we find eleven or twelve such panels. Besides these, we also notice independent images of Sūrya and Chandra who are often depicted separately in different postures. In three panels, only seven *grahas* are depicted, for Rāhu and Ketu are missing.[39] We notice 'eight-*graha*' panels of an early age at Bhubaneswar.[40]

Dr J.N. Banerjea remarks that *grahas* are usually sculptured standing, rarely seated.[41] This statement does not apply to Osian temples, because we find here panels depicting the seated Navagrahas more than the standing ones.

In the former case, usually Sūrya is seated cross-legged on a *padmāsana*, but in two images he is shown sitting either on his haunches,[42] or in the *utkuṭikāsana*[43] pose. In four of the temples, all the *grahas*, except Rāhu and Ketu, are seated cross-legged like Sūrya.[44] Only in one temple are they depicted in the *lalitāsana* pose.[45] In both the seated panels, only the bust of the ferocious-faced Rāhu is depicted, while Ketu occupies his usual place at the end of the Navagrahas. The images of Rāhu have been sculptured with an open mouth and a ferocious face with protruding eyes. In Harihara temple No. III, the mouth of the ferocious-faced Rāhu is full open which makes the upper and lower tusks clearly visible. Here Ketu is not represented with a canopy of snake-hoods on his head as in the Khajuraho[46] and Bhubaneswar[47] sculptures.

In the latter case, all the *grahas*, except Rāhu and Ketu, are standing *sambhaṅga*.[48] In two cases, the *grahas* are sculptured in pairs, with the Sūrya represented alone.[49] One thing that we notice in the standing images is that the lower portion of Ketu is represented in a serpentine form and he is placed above Rāhu.

All the Navagrahas are sculptured with two arms. Sūrya is holding full-blown lotuses in his hands raised up to shoulder level. The other *grahas*, except Rāhu and Ketu, have water-vessels in their left hands, while their right hands are in the *abhaya-mudrā*.[50] Sometimes they also hold an *akṣamālā*.[51] In two cases, Ketu is sculptured in a slightly different manner. In one case his hands are in the *añjali-mudrā*,[52] while in the other he is holding a *ghaṭa* in his left hand, the right being in the *abhaya-mudrā* and holding an *akṣamālā*.[53]

The head of Sūrya is usually adorned with a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*; the other *grahas*, except Rāhu and Ketu, have the *jaṭā-mukuṭa*; the last two have only curly hair;[54] but in Harihara temple No. III, Ketu is adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and Rāhu is as usual. All the *grahas*, except Rāhu and Ketu, are adorned with the usual ornaments in addition to the *mukuṭas*, Rāhu and Ketu being unadorned. Each of them is clad in a *dhotī*, and in the case of the seated images. they have a *yogapaṭṭa* which is tied round their knees.[55] Ketu has the lower part serpentine, and the upper human like the other *grahas*.

The description of the images of Navagrahas has been given in the *Agni Purāṇa*,[56] the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[57] *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*,[58] the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*,[59] the *Rūpamaṇḍana*,[60] the *Śilparatna*, etc.[61] According to these, the images of the Navagrahas should be shown as seated or standing with two or four hands. The other characteristic features of the individual *grahas* are also noticed in these texts.

The images of the Navagrahas, which we have found at Osian, are sculptured as seated or standing with two hands. The attributes which are held in their hands, as discussed above, differ from the description given in the texts.

Independent Images

At the sculptures of Osian, two of the deities, namely, Sūrya and Chandra, are also independently depicted. Various forms of Sūrya images were discussed in Chapter XIII on the Saura cult. The images of Chandra are discussed below.

Chandra

Some of the independent images of Chandra are depicted on the outer walls of the temples. These are peculiar images in the Osian group. Usually the images of Chandra always come with the Navagrahas. Of the independent images, one seated and three standing are noticed here.

Standing Images

In one of the standing images, Chandra is standing *tribhaṅga* on a lotus throne, with two hands. The right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and holds an *akṣamālā*, and the left hand carries a *ghaṭa*. The crescent moon is clearly visible behind his head. He has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and has put on *ekāvali*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *yajñopavīta*, *vanamālā*, *mekhalā*, etc. His *vāhana*, *haṁsa*, is seen on his right side.[62]

In another image, the deity has two hands and is standing. The right hand is mutilated, while the left one holds a *ghaṭa*. The crescent moon has also been elegantly carved in a similar manner as described above. He is draped in a *dhotī* and is adorned with the usual ornaments, and has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on his head.[63]

A third image of the same deity is quite mutilated, but the presence of the crescent moon behind him reveals his identity. The attributes held in his hands, the dress and ornaments are of the usual type. Here his *vāhana*, *haṁsa*, is seen on his left side.[64]

Seated Images

We notice only one image of this class in Harihara temple No. I. In this image, the deity is shown seated on a lotus throne. Two birds are shown underneath it. They seem to be *haṁsas*, his usual

vāhanas, but they are looking in opposite directions. Chandra has two hands. one of them is broken, and the other holds a water-vessel. The crescent moon has been beautifully carved behind him. He wears the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and is adorned with the usual ornaments.[65]

The image of Chandra has been described in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Mastya Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Pūrvakārṇāgama*, etc. According to these texts, he should be sculptured as seated or standing. In the former case, he should have two or four hands. In the two-handed image he should hold either a *kamaṇḍalu* and a *japamālā*,[66] or one of his hands should be held in the *varada-mudrā* and the other should hold a *gadā*.[67] In the standing image, he should carry a *kumuda* in his hands.[68]

These texts further prescribe that he should be seated on a two-wheeled chariot drawn by ten horses and driven by Ambar, his charioteer. He should have only Rohiṇī by his side,[69] or be flanked by Kānti and Śobhā.[70] His person should be adorned with all kinds of ornaments and a golden *yajñopavīta*, and his head should be encircled with the *prabhāmaṇḍala*.[71]

Dikpālas

The Dikpālas or the guardian deities of the different quarters are an important conception of Hindu mythology. They are eight in number, namely, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirriti. Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera and Īśāna. They are, respectively, the guardians of East, South-east, South, South-west, West, North-west, North, North-east. Their images are usually sculptured on the external walls of temples. The image of each Dikpāla is usually placed in the direction of which he is the regent.

It is interesting to note that with the exception of Kubera and Īśāna, the Dikpālas are the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon. However, in course of time they lost their status and in *paurāṇic* Hinduism they were relegated to the subordinate position of guardians of the different quarters or maybe they got additional responsibilities. They cannot be described as the principal gods of *paurāṇic* Hinduism. The well-known story of lifting Govardhana by Kṛṣṇa clearly indicates how the worship of Indra was superseded by that of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. During the period represented by *paurāṇic* Hinduism, temples ceased to be constructed in honour of these gods.

The conception of the Lokapālas or Dikpālas is very old in India; but we find considerable variation in their names and numbers, which have been variously given as four, six, eight and ten. The Vedic mythology mentions the names of four deities associated with the main quarters of the universe. In the epics, there is great variation in respect of the names and numbers of the Dikpālas, but at certain plqces they also mention four regents of the four quarters; for instance, Vālmīki mentions Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, the guardians of East, South, West, North, respectively.[72] Likewise, the *Mahābhārata*[73] also refers to four Dikpālas at one place as Indra, Agni, Varuṇa and Yama, and at another place as Yama, Indra, Kubera and Varuṇa. Hopkins states, "The grouping of Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Indra seems older than when Kubera is substituted for Agni."[74] The Buddhist texts also know of four Lokapālas, namely, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* (East), *Viḍūdhaka* (South), *Virūpākṣa* (West) and *Vaiśravaṇa* (North).[75]

The *Atharvaveda*,[76] however, refers to six *Lokas* and their six respective 'regents', viz., Agni (South), Indra (East), Varuṇa (West), Soma (North), Viṣṇu 'fixed quarter' and Bṛhaspati 'upward quarter'. The *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda*[77] (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*) also mentions the same six *Lokas* and their regents, but it replaces Viṣṇu by Yama as guardian of the fifth quarter.

The *Manusmṛti*[78] knows of eight Lokapālas. They are Soma (Chandra), Agni, *Arka* (Sūrya), *Anil* (Vāyu), Indra, *Vitpati* (Kubera), *Āpapati* (Varuṇa) and Yama. In this list, Sūrya and Soma have been enumerated in place of Nirriti and Īśāna of the later *paurāṇic* texts. The eight Dikpālas are also known to Jaina mythology. They are mostly similar to those of the Hindu pantheon, though they have some minor differences.[79]

The *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*,[80] while describing the rites connected with the building of a house (*Vāstuśamana*), states that offerings should be made to the regents of the ten regions (*diśās*), namely, to Indra (East), Vāyu (South-east), Yama (South), *Pitṛ* (South-west), Varuṇa (West), *Mahārāja* (North-

west), Soma (North), Mahendra (North-east), *Vāsuki* (Nadir) and Brahmā (Zenith).

Texts like the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc. give elaborate descriptions of the images of the first eight Dikpālas. According to these texts, they should be sculptured in the direction of which they are the regents, seated on their *vāhanas* or in a standing pose. They may be two- or four-handed, equipped with the prescribed attributes. In the case of the seated images, the consort of a Dikpāla should also be sculptured seated to his left. The texts have also given a description of their dress and ornaments.

The depiction of the Aṣṭa-Dikpālas is one of the characteristic features of the Osian temples. They are sculptured on the outer *jaṅghā* or the interior in a line with the other divinities at their places fixed by the texts. The Dikpālas are generally represented in a pair on each corner of the temples, viz., Indra, Agni (South-east); Yama, Nirriti (South-west); Varuṇa, Vāyu (North-west); Kubera, Īśāna (North-east). In the Sachiyā Mātā temple and Jaina temple, they are sculptured on the *jaṅghā* portion of the subsidiary shrines; but in the Jaina temple, they are noticed inside the temple also. However, in Viṣṇu temple No. III, the usual order of the Aṣṭa-Dikpālas has been changed. Here, Indra is sculptured with Yama, Nirriti with Varuṇa, Vāyu with Kubera and Agni with Īśāna. In the Sūrya temple, the images of only three Dikpālas, namely, Varuṇa, Kubera and Nirriti, are present.

In consonance with the description given in the iconographic texts, the Dikpālas have been sculptured here in sitting or standing poses. In the former case, they are seated on their respective *vāhanas*. In the latter case, the *vāhana* is usually noticed standing behind its Lord. Here, again, we have both two-handed and four-handed images of the Dikpālas, but the images of their consorts are conspicuously absent. With the exception of Nirriti, who is sometimes represented nude, the other Dikpālas are shown dressed in a *dhotī* and a scarf thrown over the shoulders. With the exception of Yama and Nirriti again, who are represented as putting on snake ornaments, the other Dikpālas are adorned with *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *mekhalā*, *vanamālā*, etc. The *yajñopavīta* and the *yogapaṭṭa* are also noticed in most of these images.

Indra

Indra is the regent of the Eastern quarter. At Osian his image is usually found in a niche at the southern end of the eastern wall. At one place, he is depicted at the northern end of the eastern wall.[81] We notice both seated and standing images of Indra. The seated images are two-handed and the standing images are either two-handed or four-handed. His principal *āyudha*, the *vajra*, is always found in one of his hands in most of the images. He wears a *dhotī*, a scarf and a *yogapaṭṭa*. His body is adorned with *hāra*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *yajñopavīta* and he wears a *kirīṭa*[82] or a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.[83] His *vāhana*, *Airāvata*, stands behind him and looks towards the right in some cases,[84] and towards the left in others.[85]

Seated Images

There are two seated images of Indra which represent him as two-handed. In these images he is seated on his *vāhana*, *Airāvata*. In one case, the image in Viṣṇu temple No. III, his right hand holds a *vajra* and the left hand is placed on his left thigh. He is seated on the head of the elephant with his legs bent at the knee with the feet placed on it.[86] In the second case, the image in Harihara temple No. I, his right hand is mutilated and the left rests on his folded left thigh. His right leg is in the *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* pose and placed at the back of the elephant and the left leg is also bent at the knee and it rests on the same. He has a *yogapaṭṭa* tied round his belly and right leg.[87]

Standing Images

There are twelve standing images of the deity, five being two-handed and seven four-handed. In all

these cases, the deity is represented as standing *tribhaṅga*. In the former case, his right hand carries a *vajra* and the left hand holds the folds of his drapery and rests on the *kaṭi*;[88] but in one case the right hand is holding a corner of the drapery, while the left hand carries a *vajra*.[89]

In the latter case, unfortunately, all the four hands have not been preserved. The surviving hands carry one or more of these attributes, a *vajra*, an *aṅkuśa* and a *kamaṇḍalu*. One of them may be raised in the *varada-mudrā* or it may hold the folds of his drapery. This is illustrated in the following chart:

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	Varada	Vajra	M	M
B	M	,,	Hidden	Kamaṇḍalu
C	,,	,,	Aṅkuśa	,,
D	,,	M	M	Arm is partly broken, but it holds a scarf
E	,,	Aṅkuśa	Vajra	Kamaṇḍalu
F	Varada	Vajra	Aṅkuśa	,,

A. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
B. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
C. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
D. Ibid., Maṇḍ, Jaṅghā.
E. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
F. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.

The image of Indra has been described in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Varāhamihira's), the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. They also refer to his standing and seated images possessing either two or four hands. In the case of the two-handed images, he holds either a *śakti* and an *aṅkuśa*,[90] or a *vajra* and an *aṅkuśa*,[91] or a *vajra* and an *utapala*.[92] The *Agni Purāṇa* mentions only a *vajra*.[93] In the case of the four-handed images, three hands should have a *vajra*, a *padma*, an *aṅkuśa*, respectively, and the fourth one should embrace Śachī (Indrāṇī) seated on his left,[94] or three hands should hold a *vajra*, an *aṅkuśa* and a *kamaṇḍalu*, respectively, while the lower right hand of the deity should be held in the *varada-mudrā*,[95] or the two right hands should hold a *padma* and an *aṅkuśa*, and one of his left hands should embrace Śachī and the other should hold a *vajra*.[96] These texts refer to his third eye placed horizontally on his forehead, and his mount *Airāvata* has four tusks.[97] His head should also be adorned with a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*.[98]

The images of Indra found at Osian are in general agreement with the textual description, except that we have not come across any image of the god with three eyes, that Śachī is not represented here, and that among the attributes we miss the *nīlotapala* and the *śakti*.

Agni

Agni is the regent of the South-Eastern quarter. At Osian his image is usually found in a niche at the eastern end of the southern wall. Only in Viṣṇu temple No. III is he placed at the southern end of the eastern wall.

Like Indra, Agni is also represented both in seated and standing poses. In the case of the seated images, he is seated on his *vāhana*, which is either a goat (*aja*)[99] or a ram (*meṣa*),[100] while in the case of the standing images either the first or the second *vāhana* is noticed standing behind him.[101] Only in one case is his *vāhana* missing.[102]

At Osian, Agni is represented as bare-footed and mostly bare-headed. Sometimes he has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*.[103] A halo of flames is also noticed behind his head (*jvālā-puñja-nibhāḥ*)[104] as if these are

emanating from his body. Mostly he is shown with a long beard and prominent moustaches. However, images with a short beard[105] and without a beard[106] are also noticed.

Seated Images

There are only two seated images. In one of the images, he holds a *ghaṭa* in his left hand, the right being in the *abhaya-mudrā*.[107] In the second image, both his hands are broken.[108]

Standing Images

We notice eight standing images which represent him as either two-handed or four-handed.

In the case of the two-handed standing images, the right hand is either mutilated[109] or is in the *abhaya-mudrā*.[110] Sometimes it also holds an *akṣamālā*.[111] The left hand, unless mutilated,[112] has either a *ghaṭa*,[113] or a *kamaṇḍalu*,[114] or rests on his *kaṭi*.[115]

In these images, unfortunately, all the hands have not survived. One, or two, or three, or even all the four hands have been destroyed. The surviving hand or hands carry one or more of these attributes, a *sruka*, a *sruva*, an *akṣamālā*, a *pustaka*, a *kamaṇḍalu* and a *pātra*. In two images, the lower right hand is shown in the *varada-mudrā*.

The following chart illustrates these images:

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	M	Sruka	M	M
B	,,	,,	,,	,,
C	,,	,,	Pustaka	Kamaṇḍalu
D	Varada	Sruva	M	,,
E	,,	Indistinct object	Pātra	,,

A. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
B. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
C. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
D. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
E. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā. There are two images of Agni on the subsidiary shrines also, but all their four hands have been destroyed.

We have a description of the images of Agni in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, the *Śilparatna*, *Āgamic* texts, etc. According to them, Agni should also be represented either seated or standing, with two or four hands. According to the *Mahābhārata*,[116] he should have seven faces and seven tongues (*Saptajihvā*). We have also references to his *jaṭās*, beard and moustaches,[117] four tusks and three eyes.

In the case of the two-handed images, Agni should hold a *sruka* and a *śakti*,[118] or an *akṣamālā* and a *kamaṇḍalu*,[119] or an *akṣamālā* and a *śakti*.[120] In case of the four-handed images, three hands should hold flames, a trident and a rosary, while the fourth one should embrace his consort who is seated on his left thigh and holds a *ratnapātra*,[121] or the lower right hand may be in the *varada-mudrā* and the other hands may be holding a *śakti*, a lotus-stalk and a *kamaṇḍalu*, respectively,[122] or the lower two hands should be in the *varada-* and *abhaya-mudrās*, and the upper hands should hold a *sruka* and a *śakti*.[123]

His *vāhana* is either a ram[124] or a goat,[125] or a chariot drawn by seven horses,[126] or four parrots.[127] Vāyu is the charioteer. These texts also refer to his smoke banner (*dhūmaketu*) and to his consort Svāhā.[128]

The images of Agni found at Osian differ in certain important aspects from the texts. We do not find here Agni riding a chariot or with his consort seated to his left. There is also some variation in respect of his attributes. His seven faces and seven tongues are nowhere to be met with.

Yama

Yama is the guardian of the Southern region. At Osian, he is generally depicted in a niche on the southern wall at its western end. At one place, he is represented on the eastern end of the southern wall.[129] In some cases, he is shown seated on his mount, the buffalo; while in others, it is facing the right[130] or the left,[131] standing behind its master. The seated images of Yama are two-handed, and the standing images are either two-handed or four-handed. The *khaṭvāṅga* is one of the main *āyudhas* of the deity which is always held in one of his hands. Sometimes he has upraised hair,[132] or has the *jaṭā*-[133] or the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.[134] He is draped in a *dhotī* and a scarf, and is adorned with *sarpa-kuṇḍalas*, *sarpa-hāra*, *sarpa-keyūras*, *sarpa-kaṅkaṇas*, *sarpa-mekhalā*, etc.

Seated Images

There are only three two-handed seated images, and they show him riding a buffalo. In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, his right hand holds an upturned *khaṭvāṅga* with its top resting on the head of the buffalo. This hand rests on his upraised right knee, the foot of the bent leg being on the belly of the buffalo. The left hand rests on his folded left knee, the leg resting on the buffalo's back and the foot on his right ankle.[135] In Harihara temple No. I, his right hand is mutilated and the left hand holds a *khaṭvāṅga*. He is seated on the back of his *vāhana* in the *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* pose. The *kukkuṭa*, instead of being placed in a hand of the deity, is carved as seated on the flank of his *vāhana*.[136] In Viṣṇu temple No. III also, his right hand is broken and the left hand carries a *khaṭvāṅga*. Here also he is seated on the back of the buffalo. His legs are folded at the knee with the feet placed on its back.[137]

Standing Images

In the five two-handed standing images, usually his right hand holds a *khaṭvāṅga* and the left hand is either in the *kaṭyavalaṁbita*[138] pose or holds the folds of the scarf,[139] but it rests on his *kaṭi*. Only in one case is his right hand shown on his *kaṭi* and his left hand holding a *khaḍga*.[140]

Only five of his four-handed representations are noticed here. In two of these images, all the four hands are broken.[141] In one of the remaining three, the deity is standing and he holds a *lekhanī*, a *khaṭvāṅga* and a *pustaka* in the firs tthree hands, respectively, but the *āyudha* held in his fourth hand is concealed from view.[142] In the second image, Yama has a *padma*, a *khaṭvāṅga*, a *kapāla* in the first three hands, and the fourth is in the *varada-mudrā*.[143] In the third image, the deity is depicted with a *lekhanī* and a *pustaka* in the two lower hands, while the two upper hands carry a *khaṭvāṅga* and a *kukkuṭa*.[144]

The image of Yama has been described in different texts, such as the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc. These texts describe his images as standing or seated with either two or four hands. In the case of the two-handed images, he should carry either a *khaḍga* and a *kheṭaka*,[145] or a *daṇḍa* and a *pāśa*,[146] or a *phala* and *pallavas* (fruit and tender leaves),[147] or only a *daṇḍa*.[148] In the case of the four-handed images, he should hold either a *daṇḍa*, a *khaḍga*, a *triśūla* with *jvālās* (flames) and an *akṣamālā*,[149] or a *lekhanī*, a *pustaka*, a *kukkuṭa* and a *daṇḍa*.[150] His consort Dhumorṇā should be seated on his left thigh.[151]

According to these, Yama should have fire-coloured eyes, sharp side tusks, and should be adorned with a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and other ornaments. He may be seated either on a *siṁhāsana* or on a he-buffalo.[152]

The images of Yama at Osian differ from the texts in respect of their attributes. In the case of the two-handed images we notice a *khaṭvāṅga* or a *khaḍga* in one of his hands, and the other hand usually rests on his *kaṭi*. We do not notice a *daṇḍa*, a *pāśa*, *kheṭaka*, a *phala* and *pallavas* as mentioned in the different texts described above. The four-handed images of Yama almost conform to the description in the *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, as he is depicted with a *lekhanī*, a *pustaka* and a

kukkuṭa in three of his hands. In two images, the fourth hand has a *khatvāṅga* in place of the *daṇḍa*. One image completely differs from the description given in the texts: a *padma*, a *khaṭvāṅga*, a *kapāla* and *abhaya-mudrā* are found in place of a *lekhanī*, a *pustaka*, a *kukkuṭa* and a *daṇḍa*. Moreover, he is nowhere depicted with side tusks and a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*.

Nirriti

Nirriti is the Lord of the South-West quarter. He is usually represented at the southern end of the western wall; but in one temple he is depicted at the western end of the southern wall.[153] His *vāhana* is variously represented. Sometimes it is a dog,[154] but mostly a man. In one case, he is standing *tribhaṅga* on his *naravāhana* who lies prostrate on the ground.[155] In another, the deity is seen riding on the shoulders of his *naravāhana* just as Viṣṇu rides his *vāhana*, Garuḍa.[156] In two cases, his *naravāhana* is seen reclining with his head to his right[157] and in two cases to his left.[158] In four cases the *naravāhana* is lying on the pedestal behind the deity.[159] Of his principal *āyudhas*, the *khaḍga* is always shown in one of his hands. He is usually clad in a *dhotī*, but in some images he is represented nude,[160] like Bhairava. Like Yama, he also puts on a *sarpa-yajñopavīta*, *sarpa-kuṇḍalas*, *sarpa-hāra*, *sarpa-keyūras*, *sarpa-kaṅkaṇas*, *sarpa-mekhalā* and even *sarpa-mālā*. Some of his images are adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*,[161] and in others he has upraised hair.

Accorning to Dr J.N. Banerjea,[162] "Sculptures showing Nirriti are extremely rare." However, Osian sculptures show that they are not so rare. Here there are at least seventeen images of this deity. In the majority of cases, he is seen in the standing *tribhaṅga* pose.[163] In one case, he is standing *sambhaṅga*,[164] but seated images are also noticed.

Seated Images

Like other Dikpālas, he also has either two or four hands. Only two seated images are noticed. One has two hands, and the other has four. In the former case, he holds a sword in the right hand, and the left rests on his folded left knee.[165] In the latter case, the lower right hand holds a sword and the lower left one rests on his folded knee, while the upper right has an indistinct object, and the upper left is placed on his chest.[166]

Standing Images

In the case of the two-handed standing images, the right hand is either in the *abhaya-mudrā*[167] or holds a *khaḍga*,[168] while the left hand either holds a *padma*[169] or the folds of his scarf, but it rests on his *kaṭi*.[170] Sometimes the *kaṭyavalaṁbita* hand is empty.[171]

Several four-handed standing images of Nirriti are noticed here. Unfortunately, their hands are broken in most cases. The hand or hands that survive carry one or more of these attributes, a *khaḍga*, a *kapāla*, a *kamaṇḍalu*, a *ḍamaru* and a *kheṭaka*. These are illustrated in the chart given below:

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	M	Khaḍga	Kapāla	M
B	Khaḍga	Kaṭāra	,,	Kamaṇḍalu
C	M	Khaḍga	M	M
D	Khaḍga	Ḍamaru	Kheṭaka	,,
E	M	Khaḍga	Kapāla	,,

A. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
B. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
C. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
D. J.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
E. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā; there are two more figures of this deity on the subsidiary shrines of the Jaina temple also, but all their four hands have been mutilated.

The images of Nirriti have also been discussed in texts such as the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Suprabhedāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. These texts also refer to his seated or standing images, with two or four hands.

In the case of the two-handed image, he is to hold either a *khaḍga* and a *kheṭaka*,[172] or a *khaḍga*,[173] or a *daṇḍa*[174] in one of his hands. However, the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* do not mention the attributes held by the other hand. In the case of the four-handed image, he should hold a *khaḍga*, a *kheṭaka*, a *kartrī* and a *naramuṇḍa*.[175] According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, his wife Kṛṣṇāṅgī should be seated on his left thigh; she is also known as Kṛṣṇavadnā and Kṛṣṇapāśā.[176]

It is also stated in these texts that he should have a gaping mouth, exposed teeth, side tusks and upraised hair. Moreover, he should be adorned with a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, all other ornaments and with flower garlands.[177] He should be seated on a *bhadrapīṭha*,[178] an ass,[179] a man,[180] a lion,[181] a camel,[182] a dog[183] or a chariot drawn by a man.[184]

Osian images of this deity do not conform to the description given in the texts described above. In the case of the two-handed images in some cases, we find a *khaḍga* as described in the *Agni Purāṇa* and in others the *abhaya-mudrā*. The other hand holds a *padma*, or the folds of the scarf, resting on his *kaṭi*. In the case of the four-handed images, he holds the same attributes as mentioned in the *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, with the exception of *kartrī* and *naramuṇḍa*. In place of the *kartrī*, we find either a *kaṭāra* or a *ḍamaru* or a *kamaṇḍalu*, and in place of the *naramuṇḍa*, we notice a *kapāla* (human-skull).

Varuṇa

Varuṇa, the lord of the west, is represented on the western wall at its northern end; but in one temple he is represented at the southern end of the western wall.[185] He is represented both in sitting and standing postures with two or four hands. In the case of the seated images, he is seen seated on his *vāhana*, either the *haṁsa*[186] or the *makara*.[187] In the standing images he is standing *tribhaṅga*. In some cases, his *vāhana*, *makara*, is lying behind his legs, with its head either to the right[188] or to the left of the deity. In one of the images, his *vāhana*, *makara*, is missing; but he is standing on a *ghaṭa* (Pl. VIII, Fig. 3).[189] It is suggestive of Varuṇa being the water-god (*Jaladevatā*). In the other two images also, his *vāhana* is absent.[190] In all the images, the deity is adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *mekhalā* and *vanamālā* and has a *kirīṭa*[191] or *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* (Pl. VIII, Fig. 3).[192]

Seated Images

There are two seated images. One of them is two-handed and the other is four-handed. In the former case, the deity holds a *pāśa* in his right hand and the left has an indistinct object. He is seated on his *vāhana*, the *haṁsa*.[193] In the latter case, he is seated on his *makara vāhana*. His lower right hand rests on the head of his mount, the lower left carries a *kamalanāla*, the upper right holds a *pāśa* and the upper left rests on his folded left leg.[194]

Standing Images

There are seven two-handed and six four-handed standing images. So far as the attributes of the two-handed images are concerned, there is not much variation in them. The right hand of the deity usually holds a *pāśa* and the left, holding a scarf, rests on his *kaṭi*.[195] In one case his right hand carries his scarf and the left is mutilated.[196]

In the case of the four-handed standing images, most of the hands are mutilated. In one image, however, all the four hands are intact. In this image, the lower right hand is in the *varada-mudrā*, the lower left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*, and the two upper ones carry a *pāśa* and a *padma*. A female

attendant is standing to the right side of the deity. Her right hand rests on her *kaṭi* and the left arm is bent at the elbow, keeping some indistinct object in her palm at her shoulder level.[197] In two images, he carries a *pāśa* and a *kamaṇḍalu* in his two left hands, while the two right hands are broken.[198] In the fifth image, he holds only a *pāśa* in his upper right hand and the other three hands are mutilated. A male attendant is standing to the right side of the deity. His right hand rests on the *vanamālā* of the god and the left is concealed from view.[199] In the sixth composition, the deity holds only a *kamalanāla* in his upper left hand and the remaining three hands are damaged.[200]

The postures in which the images of god Varuṇa will be presented are discussed in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Maṭsya Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the other *Āgamic* texts. They describe his image as seated or standing, having two or four hands. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the slightly pot-bellied god should be ornamented with a gem garland and the other usual ornaments. His consort, Gaurī, should sit on his left thigh, and Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their respective mounts should be shown on his right and left, respectively.[201] He should have either a *kirīṭa*[202] or a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*,[203] and should be adorned with all varieties of ornaments, and he should wear on his person a *yajñopavīta*.

In the case of the two-handed images, he may hold either a *pāśa* and a *śaṅkha*,[204] or a *pāśa* in the left hand, the right being in the *varada-mudrā*.[205] In the case of a four-handed image, his three hands should carry a *pāśa*, a *sarpa*, a *kamaṇḍalu*, and the fourth one should be held in the *varada-mudrā*,[206] or his two right hands should hold a *padma* and a *pāśa*, and the left hands a *śaṅkha* and a *ratnapātra*,[207] or a *pāśa*, a *padma*, a *kamaṇḍalu* in the three hands, with the fourth in the *varada-mudrā*.[208] He may be seated or standing, either on a *haṁsa*,[209] or a *makara*,[210] or a *matsya*,[211] or a chariot drawn by seven *haṁsas*.[212]

At Osian, two of the sculptures differ in some aspects from the texts mentioned above. Here, the fish is not represented as his *vāhana*; the *śaṅkha* and the *sarpa* too are not depicted in any one of his images. In addition to the *makara* and the *haṁsa*, the *ghaṭa* is also noticed here on which he is standing.

Vāyu

Vāyu is the lord of the North-west quarter. He is usually sculptured on the northern wall at its western end, but in Viṣṇu temple No. III at Osian, he is depicted on the southern end of the western wall. His images are depicted in both sitting and standing postures, having two or four hands. In all the standing depictions, the deity is shown with his *vāhana*, the deer, which is shown either sitting or standing by the side of its master. There are two seated images in which Vāyu is seen riding his mount. In one of them, he rides as an expert rider with both his hands holding a scarf over his head,[213] while in the others, he is seated in the *utkuṭikāsana* pose.[214] He wears a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and the other usual ornaments.

His principal attribute is the *dhvaja* which is held in his two hands in the two-handed images[215] and the two upper hands in the four-handed images.[216] In the latter case, the lower right hand is in the *varada-mudrā*[217] (sometimes it also holds a rosary),[218] while the lower left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*.[219]

Like the other guardian deities, Vāyu has also been described in various texts, such as the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Suprabhedāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, etc. The texts suggest that his image should have curving brows, and he should be adorned with all ornaments. His hair should be dishevelled, but he should be draped in the usual sky-blue garments. Vāyu should have his mouth open. His consort, Śivā, should be seated on his left thigh.[220]

He may have either two or four hands, both in the seated and standing images. In the case of the two-handed images, he may hold either the ends of his flowing drapery in both his hands,[221] or the right hand may be in the *varada-mudrā*, and the left may hold a banner,[222] or the banner may be in the right hand and the staff may be in the left hand,[223] or one of his hands should be in the *varada-mudrā* and the other should hold a *kamaṇḍalu*.[224] In the case of the four-handed images, one of his hands may be in the

varada-mudrā, and the other three should hold a banner, a flag and a water-vessel.[225] He should be seated or standing on a *simhāsana*,[226] or seated on a deer.[227]

At Osian, the images of Vāyu mostly conform to the description given in the *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*.

Kubera

Kubera is the guardian of the North. He is generally represented at the eastern end of the northern wall; but in Viṣṇu temple No. III he is depicted at its western end. His mount is variously represented as an elephant,[228] a ram,[229] or a man.[230] In the Sachiyā Mātā temple, two upturned *ghaṭas*[231] are seen below his seat. They symbolise the *śaṅkhanidhi* and the *padmanidhi*. In certain images, he has put on either a *jaṭā*-,[232] or a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*,[233] while in the others he is bare-headed—his curly hair shown prominently.[234] His principal attribute, the *nakulaka*, is noticed in all images. The other attributes include a *gadā*, a *chaṣaka*, a *padma*, an *aṅkuśa* and a *ghaṭa*.

We have both seated and standing images of Kubera. In both forms, they have either two hands or four hands. In the case of the two-handed images, the left hand generally holds a mongoose,[235] while the right hand has either a wine-cup[236] or is mutilated.[237] In one case, however, the wine-cup is held by the left hand and the right is mutilated.[238] In the other two cases, the right hand is shown in the *abhaya-mudrā*,[239] or it holds a fruit,[240] and the left hand holds a *nakulaka*.

There is greater variation in the disposition of the attributes in the case of the four-handed images. This is illustrated in the chart given below:

Seated Images

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	Chaṣaka	Aṅkuśa	Padma	Nakulaka
B	,,	Nakulaka placing	it on his neck	Ghaṭa
C	Resting on thigh	Padma	Padma	Nakulaka
D	Nakulaka	M	M	Arm is broken possibly held a ghaṭa
E	M	Padma	Nakulaka	Chaṣaka
F	Chaṣaka	Nakulaka placing	it on his neck	M
G	Indistinct object	Nakulaka	Aṅkuśa	Phala
H	Nakulaka	Kamalanāla	,,	Chaṣaka

A. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Door-sill.
B. Ibid., Adhiṣ niche, Outer W. Wall.
C. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Door-sill.
D. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Door-sill.
E. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā. In this image he is shown seated on a ram.
F. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ niche, Outer S. Wall.
G. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Door-sill.
H. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Door-sill.

Standing Images

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	M	Nakulaka placing	it on his neck	M
B	Gadā	,,	,,	,,
C	M	,,	,,	Phala
D	Varada with an akṣamālā	,,	,,	M
E	Kaṭyavalaṁbita	,,	,,	,,

A. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
B. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
C. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
D. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
E. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.

Madhupāī Kubera

We have his *madhupāī* images on the *adhiṣṭhāna* and on the door-lintels of certain temples. Here, the pot-bellied deity is seated on a pedestal in the *lalitāsana* pose with a female attendant standing beside him and pouring wine into his cup from a flask held by her. In these images, Kubera has put on the usual dress and ornaments, but his *vāhana* is missing.[241] A similar large-sized image of Kubera is also noticed in the sanctum of the Piplā Devī temple.[242]

A description of the image of Kubera is found in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*, the *Śilparatna*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* states that he should have a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*;[243] the *Śilparatna* mentions the helmet (*kirīṭa*).[244] The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* prescribes that his body should wear an armour, that he should be bearded and should have two prominent teeth one on each side.[245] He should have a big,[246] pendant[247] belly. The deity will have either two or four arms in both varieties of the images, i.e., seated and standing. If he has only two arms, he should carry a *gadā* in one of his hands[248] and the other may be in the *varada* or *abhaya* pose.[249] If he has four hands, one of them should be embracing his consort, Vibhavā, and another arm embracing Vṛddhi, seated on his left and right thighs, respectively; the remaining hands should carry a *gadā* and a *śakti*,[250] or he may have a *gadā*, a purse (*nidhi*), a pomegranate (*bījapūraka*) and a *kamaṇḍalu* in his four hands.[251]

These iconographic texts also say that he should be depicted either in the sitting posture or in the standing posture on the *naravāhana*[252] or on a chariot drawn by a man[253] or a ram (*meṣa*)[254] or an elephant.[255] To the right and left of Kubera, there should, respectively, be the *śaṁkhanidhi* and the *padmanidhi*.[256] Mostly these attributes and *vāhanas* are noticed in the images found at Osian.

Iśāna

Īśāna is the regent of the North-Eastern quarter. As such, he is depicted on the northern end of the eastern wall. In Viṣṇu temple No. III, however, he is represented on the eastern end of the northern wall. Both seated and standing images are noticed here. He has four hands, except in the case of a standing image which is two-handed.

In the standing images, he is shown standing *tribhaṅga* with his mount, the bull, standing behind his legs with its head either to the right or to the left of the deity. Īśāna is adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. In one case, a female attendant is standing to the left of the deity, while the bull is standing to his right side.[257]

Seated Images

There are only two seated images in which he is shown seated on a bull in the *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* pose. In one of them, all the four hands are broken,[258] while in the other image, the two upper hands carry a snake and a trident. The lower right is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and holds a rosary and the lower left has a fruit (*bījapūraka*).[259]

Standing Images

There is only one two-handed standing image. The right hand holds a trident and the left is mutilated.[260]

In the case of the four-handed standing images, the disposition of the attributes is much varied. It is illustrated in the chart given below:

	L.R.	*U.R.*	*U.L.*	*L.L.*
A	Padma	Triśūla	Sarpa	Scarf
B	M	,,	,,	,,
C	Padma	,,	,,	Kaṭyavalaṁbita
D	M	,,	,,	M
E	Varada	,,	,,	,,
F	Varada with an akṣamālā	,,	,,	Kamaṇḍalu
G	M	,,	,,	M
H	Varada	,,	,,	Kamaṇḍalu

A. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
B. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
C. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
D. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
E. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
F. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
G. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
H. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
There are three more images which we notice on the subsidiary shrines of the Sachiyā Mātā temple (S.W. Shrine) and Jaina temple (S.W. & N.W. Shrines). Unfortunately, all the four hands have been damaged and it is not possible to detect what they were holding.

Like the other Dikpālas, the image of Īśāna has also been mentioned the in *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the *Aparājitaprchchhā*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc. From the description given of him, Īśāna should have three eyes, a pacific appearance and be draped in a tiger's skin. His head should be adorned with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*; his chest should have an ordinary *yajñopavīta* or a *nāga-yajñopavīta*, and he should also be adorned with all other ornaments. There should be a crescent moon on his *jaṭā-mukuṭa*.[261]

He may be seated or standing, with either two or four arms. In the case of the two-armed images, one of his hands should carry a *triśūla* or a *kapāla*; the other hand may be in the *varada* or *abhaya-mudrā*.[262] If he has four hands, three should have a *triśūla*, a *sarpa*, a *bījapūraka*, and the fourth should be held in the *varada* pose,[263] or two of his hands should be sculptured as playing upon a *vīṇā* and the other two are to be held in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses.[264] These texts also prescribe that his *vāhana*, the bull, should be depicted with both the seated and standing images of the deity.[265]

At Osian, most of the images of Īśāna conform to the description given in the *Aparājitapṛchchhā* and the *Rūpamaṇḍana*. Their two or four hands hold mostly the same *āyudhas* which have been described in these texts. There is no image here corresponding to the Arddhanārīśvara form as laid down in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.

Gaṅgā-Yamunā

At Osian, their figures are generally noticed at the bottom of almost every door-jamb of the *garbhagṛhas* as well as the subsidiary shrines of the temples. Besides these, other figures of the two goddesses are noticed in the marriage scene of Śiva and Pārvatī. Both are usually standing *tribhaṅga* on the *makara* and *kūrma*, their usual *vāhanas*. One of their hands carries a *pūrṇakumbha*, and the other is resting on the *kaṭi*. Here we do not notice them as the attendants of god Varuṇa as depicted in the Khajuraho sculptures. They wear a *sārī* and a scarf and are adorned with *ekāvali*, *kuṇḍalas*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *keyūras*, *mekhalā*, etc. A dwarfish attendant is shown standing by their side.

REFERENCES

1. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall; V.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
2. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
3. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Door-lintel.
4. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
5. Ibid., Door-lintel.
6. H.H.T. No. II, Aṅta, W. Wall.
7. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Door-lintel.
8. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 41.
9. *VDP*, 46, 10.
10. *Ag.*, 49, 15.
11. *EHI*, II, II, pp. 504-5.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 503.
14. *Ag.*, 49, 15; *ŚR*, 5, 123.
15. *VDP*, 46, 12-13.
16. *ŚR*, 5, 126.
17. *VDP*, 63, 1-3; *Supr. Ā.*, *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 244.
18. *Ag.*, 49, 15; *ŚR*, 5, 126.
19. See the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Chap. 1,37), the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparva*, Chap. 229), Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya*—the names *Skando*, *Mahaseno*, *Momaro* and *Bizago* (Skr. *Viśākha*) occur in Greek letters on Kaniṣka coins. Cf. Bhandarkar, R.G., *VSMRS*, pp. 150-51, see also Shukla, D.N., *Vastu Shastra*, Vol. II, Canons of Hindu Iconography and Paintings, p. 297.
20. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer N. Wall.
21. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, S. Wall.
22. Ibid., No. II, Jagatī, S. Wall.
23. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Outer N. Wall, above the Kṛṣṇa-līlā frieze.
24. S.M.T., Sanc, Door-lintel.
25. Ibid., N.E. & N.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
26. *Rūp. M.*, 4, 30-31.
27. Ibid.
28. *KTĀ*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 220.
29. *EHI*, II, II, p. 436.
30. *ŚTN*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 220.
31. Ibid., *Rūp. M.*, 4, 30-31.
32. *ŚTN*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 220.
33. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Door-lintel.
34. Ibid., N.W., N.E. & S.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
35. *Aṁś. Ā.*, *Supr. Ā.*, *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, pp. 269-70.
36. *VDP*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 271.
37. *Aṁś. Ā.*, *Supr. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 70.
38. *VDP*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 271.
39. V.T. No. I, cf. Bhandarkar, D.R., *ASIAR*, p. 105; V.T No. III, S.M.T., S.E. Shrine.
40. *ARB*, p. 69.
41. *DHI*, (1956), p. 444.
42. V.T. No. I.
43. Ibid., No. III.
44. H.H.T. Nos. I, II, III; Sūrya Temple.
45. V.T. No. I.
46. Avasthi, R.A., *Khajuraho kī Deva-Pratimāyen*, p. 195.
47. *ARB*, p. 132.
48. P.D.T.
49. S.M.T., N.E. & N.W. Shrines.
50. H.H.T. Nos. I & II.
51. Ibid., No. III.
52. Ibid., No. I.
53. Ibid., No. III.
54. Ibid., No. II.
55. Ibid., No. III.
56. 61, 1-12.
57. 94, 2-8.
58. 68, 69, 2-10.
59. 214, 10-19.
60. 2, 10-24.
61. Vide *EHI*, I, II, pp. 93-97.
62. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
63. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
64. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall.
65. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall. Dr D.R. Bhandarkar says that "He is shown in one case as supported by two birds and not by ten horses, which are his true *vāhanas*. I have nowhere else except at Osian met with any image of Chandra." *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 114.
66. *Ag.*, 51, 1.
67. *Mat.*, 94, 2.

68. *VDP*, p. 68.
69. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, pp. 318-319.
70. *VDP*, 68.
71. *P.K.A.*, vide *EHI*, I, II, pp. 318-319.
72. *Rāmā.*, 2, 16, 24.
73. Hopkins, E.W., *Epic Mythology*, p. 149.
74. Ibid.
75. *DHI* (1956), p. 85. According to A.K. Coomaraswamy, Pāṇini's famous *Jīvikārthe Cāyaṇye* (V. 3.99) also apply the reference to the four regents, namely—Kubera, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* (East), *Viḍūdhaka* (South), *Virūpākṣa* (West), and *Vaiśravaṇa* (North). See also *DHI* (1946), p. 94.
76. *Av.*, 3, 27, 1-6.
77. *T. Saṁ.*, 5, 5, 10.
78. *Manu.*, 5, 96.
79. Bhattacharya, B.C., *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 147-157. They are Indra (East), Agni (South-East), Yama (South), Nirriti (South-West), Varuṇa (West), Vāyu (North-West), Kubera (North), Īśāna (North-East), Brahmā (Upper region) and *Nāga* (nether region). In this *Śvetāmbara* list of the Dikpālas, Brahmā and *Nāga* are additional ones, the *Digambaras* leaving them out in their list and accepting the stereotyped list of the later Hindu mythology.
80. *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, XIV iv 7, 37, 41; vide Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, p. 521; cf. also Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent-Lore*, p. 198.
81. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
82. H.H.T. Nos. I & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
83. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
84. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā; J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
85. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.W. & S.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā.
86. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
87. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
88. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā; Ru. Śiva temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
89. P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā.
90. *EHI*, II, II, pp. 519-20.
91. Ibid.
92. *Mat.*, 260, 67-70.
93. *Ag.*, 51, 14.
94. *EHI*, II, II, p. 520.
95. *Ap.*, 213, 9; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 31.
96. *VDP*, 50, 2-6.
97. Ibid.
98. *EHI*, II, II, p. 519.
99. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
100. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
101. S.M.T., N.E. & N.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā; J.T., N.E. & N.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā.
102. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
103. H.H.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā; P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā, etc.
104. *Rūp. M.*, 2, 32; cf. *JUPHS*, Vol. XIX (1946), p. 54.
105. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
106. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
107. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
108. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
109. P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā; Ru. Śiva Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
110. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
111. H.H.T., Nos. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; J.T., Maṇḍ, Jaṅghā.
112. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
113. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
114. P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā.
115. Ru. Śiva Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
116. *DHI* (1956), p. 524, vide Hopkins, E., *Epic Mythology*, p. 97.
117. *VDP*, 56, 1-10; *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 57.
118. *EHI*, II, II, p. 523.
119. *Mat.*, 261, 9-12.
120. Op. cit., II, II, p. 523.
121. *VDP*, 56, 1-10.
122. *Ap.*, 213, 10; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 32.
123. Op. cit., 523.
124. *Ap.*, 213, 10; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 32.
125. *Mat.*, 261, 9-12; *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 254.
126. Hopkins, E., op. cit., p. 97.
127. *VDP*, 56, 1-10.
128. *EHI*, II, II, pp. 523-24.
129. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
130. H.H.T. Nos. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
131. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
132. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
133. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.E. & N.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā.
134. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
135. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
136. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
137. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
138. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; Ru. Śiva Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
139. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc Jaṅghā; J.T., Maṇḍ, Jaṅghā.
140. P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā.
141. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā; J.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
142. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
143. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
144. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
145. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 256.
146. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, pp. 256-57.
147. *Supr. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 256.
148. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 57. In this text he is described as दण्डी यमो महिषगो ।
149. *VDP*, 51, 1-7.
150. *Ap.*, 213, 11.
151. *VDP*, 61, 1-7; *Ag.*, 51, 13.
152. *EHI*, II, II, p. 526.
153. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
154. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
155. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
156. Ibid., No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
157. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
158. Ibid., No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.W. Shrine,

Jaṅghā.
159. P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā; Śiva Temple No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā; J.T., Maṇḍ, Jaṅghā.
160. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, etc.
161. H.H.T. Nos. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
162. *DHI* (1956), p. 526.
163. H.H.T. Nos. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; P D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā.
164. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
165. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
166. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
167. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
168. H.H.T. Nos. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; Ru. Śiva Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
169. Ibid., No. II, V.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
170. Ibid., No. III, ibid., No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
171. P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā.
172. *Aṁś. Ā.*, *ŚR*, *Supr. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, Appendix B, pp. 258-59.
173. *Ag.*, 51, 14; *Mat.*, 261, 15-16.
174. *VDP*, 57, 1-6; *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 57.
175. *Ap.*, 213, 12; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 24.
176. According to R.A. Avasthi (*KDP*, p. 220) these are the different names of his consort, but according to T.A.G. Rao, these are the names of his four different wives (*EHI*, II, II, p. 528).
177. *EHI*, II, II, p. 528.
178. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 259.
179. *EHI*, II, II, p. 528.
180. *Mat.*, 261, 15-16.
181. *Supr. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 259.
182. *VDP*, 57, 1-6.
183. *Ap* , 213, 12; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 34.
184. *Ś.R.*
185. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
186. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
187. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
188. S.M.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
189. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
190. H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
191. J.T., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
192. V.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā, etc.
193. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
194. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
195. H.H.T. Nos. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; Ru. Śiva Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
196. J.T., Maṇḍ, Jaṅghā. Generally in the representations of Varuṇa, only the head of the crocodile is depicted, but in this case the entire body of the crocodile is represented. It is lying on the pedestal with its head raised up.
197. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
198. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā; J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
199. J.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
200. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
201. *DHI* (1956), p. 526.
202. *Mat.*, 261, 17-14.
203. *EHI*, II, II, p. 529.
204. *Mat.*, 261, 17-19.
205. *Ag.*, 51, 15.
206. *EHI*, II, II, pp. 529-30.
207. *VDP*, 52, 1-21.
208. *Ap.*, 213, 13; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 35.
209. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 57.
210. *Ag.*, 51, 15; *Ap* , 213, 13; *Rūp. M* , 2, 35.
211. *Mat.*, 261, 17-19.
212. *VDP*, 52, 1-21.
213. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
214. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
215. H.H.T. Nos. I, II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc, Jaṅghā; Ru. Śiva Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
216. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
217. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
218. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
219. Ibid., N.E. & N.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
220. *VDP*, 58, 1-3.
221. Ibid.
222. *Mat.*, 261, 18-19; *Agni Purāṇa* also says that right hand should have a *dhvaja* (51, 15); *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 262.
223. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 261.
224. *Rūp. M.*, 2, 36.
225. *Ap.*, 213, 14; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 36.
226. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 261.
227. *Mat.*, 261, 18-19; *Ag.*, 51, 15; *Ap.*, 213, 14; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 36; *Supr. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 261.
228. J.T., N.E., N.W. & S.W. Shrines, Jaṅghā.
229. S.M.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā; P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā.
230. H.H.T. Nos. I. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. Nos. I & II, Sanc, Jaṅghā, etc.
231. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
232. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
233. H.H.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā; J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā and roof of the maṇḍ, Outer N. Wall etc.
234. H.H.T. Nos. II & III, Sanc, Jaṅghā; Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
235. H.H.T. No. I, Jagatī, W. Wall; Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā; V.T. No. III, Door-lintel; S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall, etc.
236. Sūrya Temple, Sanc, Jaṅghā, Outer S. Wall; V.T. No. III, Door-lintel; J.T., Roof of the maṇḍ, Outer N. Wall, etc.
237. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā; Outer E. Wall; J.T., Roof of the Maṇḍ, Outer N. Wall, etc.
238. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā; cf. *ASIAR*, 1908-9, p. 102.
239. J.T., Porch, Outer N. Wall.
240. Ibid., Adhiṣ niche, Outer S. Wall.
241. P.D.T., Maṇḍ, Pillar; H.H.T. No. II, Sanc, Adhiṣ niche, Outer E. Wall.
242. Ibid., Sanc, Inside; cf. Smith, V.A., *Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p. 42; see also Agrawala, R.C., *IHQ* (1957), p. 203.
243. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 263.
244. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 264.
245. *VDP*, 53.

246. *ŚR*, vide *EHI*, II, II, Appendix B, p. 264.
247. *VDP*, 53.
248. *EHI*, II, II, pp. 535-36.
249. Ibid., pp. 535-36.
250. Ibid., p. 536.
251. *Ap.*, 213, 15; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 37.
252. *Bṛ. Saṁ.*, 58, 57.
253. *Mat.*, 261, 20-22.
254. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, p. 536; *Ag.*, 51, 15.
255. *Ap.*, 213, 15; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 37.
256. *Aṁś. Ā.*, vide *EHI*, II, II, pp. 535-36.
257. S.M.T., N.W. Shrine, Jaṅghā.
258. V.T. No. III, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
259. H.H.T. No. I, Sanc, Jaṅghā.
260. P.D.T., Sanc, Jaṅghā.
261. *EHI*, II, II, p. 538.
262. Ibid., p. 538.
263. *Ap.*, 213, 16; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 38.
264. *EHI*, II, II, p. 537.
265. *Mat.*, 261, 23; *Ag.*, 51, 15; *Ap.*, 213, 16; *Rūp. M.*, 2, 38.

16

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

BESIDES Brahmanism, Jainism was also very popular in the region of Osian during the period of our study. We have already noticed in the first chapter how the two religions vied with each other for popularity in this part of the country during early medieval times. Local tradition asserts that there were as many as one hundred and eight Jaina temples at Osian in the past.[1] But at present only one *Śvetāmbara* Jaina temple is extant. It is a big edifice dedicated to Lord Mahāvīra and still attracts pilgrims from far and near. Epigraphic evidence suggests that this temple was constructed during the reign of the Pratihāra emperor, Vatsarāja. Additions and alterations have been made to it from time to time, and by now it has lost much of its ancient character.

We need not discuss here the origin and development of Jainism. There is a view that, like Buddhism or even the Vedic religion, Jainism also did not believe in idol worship in the beginning, but, by the time of Osian sculptures, rather much earlier than that, Jainism adopted idolatry. Jainas do not believe in the existence of God, but they worship the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras whom they regard as superior to gods (*Deva-Deva*). Ṛṣabhanātha, the traditional founder of Jainism, is regarded as the first Tīrthaṅkara. Mahāvīra was the last of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.

Unlike Brahmanical images, but like the images of Buddha, the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras retain their human features. Generally speaking, the images of all the Tīrthaṅkaras are identical, their characteristic features being a youthful appearance, a happy countenance, long arms, nudity and the *śrivatsa* symbol on the chest. This striking likeness makes it very difficult to distinguish one Tīrthaṅkara from another in the first phase of Jaina iconography. Only the first Tīrthaṅkara had long locks of hair, going down to his shoulders, and the symbol of *dharma-chakra* on the pedestal, and two other Tīrthaṅkaras, Supārśvanātha and Pārśvanātha, were added to the images of the earlier Tīrthaṅkaras which made their identification easy. All this development took place before the period of our study. Simultaneously, the Jaina pantheon also increased.

In the solitary Jaina temple at Osian, we notice the images of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras sculptured on the pillars of the *toraṇa* which stands in front of the main temple. There is a big stone plaque

representing the seated mothers of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. Each one has a small child on her left lap. The independent images of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and the life story of Neminātha are also noticeable. Besides the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras, we have also the representations of Jīvantaswāmī, Brahmaśānti Yakṣa and Jina Kalyāṇaka. The figures of Jaina Vidyādevīs and Yakṣiṇīs are represented on door-lintels, door-jambs, on the other parts of the sanctum and on the subsidiary shrines. Besides the Jaina icons, *apsarās* in different postures, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Gaṇeśa, Kubera and Aṣṭa-Dikpālas are also elaborately sculptured. It is curious to note that there is no Navagraha panel on any door-lintel, or anywhere else in this temple. The images of Vidyādevīs at Osian generally correspond to their description in the *Śvetāmbara* texts.[2]

Tīrthaṅkara Images

Pārśvanātha

Only three images of Pārśvanātha are noticed here. All these images differ from one another in certain aspects. In Jaina temple, the composition of Pārśvanātha is sculptured in one of the principal niches of the subsidiary shrine. He is seated on a well decorated *siṁhāsana* and his head is canopied by seven snake-hoods. He has a *chhatra* raised over the snake-hoods. An elephant, a vidyādhara, a *chaurī*-bearer and a male attendant are shown on either side of the Tīrthaṅkara. A *dharma-chakra* is noticed on the front part of the pedestal besides two crouching lions supporting the throne. A male figure and a female figure are noted outside the niche with their hands in the *añjali-mudrā*. They may be the worshippers of the Tīrthaṅkara (Photograph 43).[3]

Another image of the same Tīrthaṅkara is noticed in the same temple. He is seated on a lotus throne in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. A seven-hooded *nāga* canopy is also as usual seen raised over his head. Two *chaurī*-bearers, one on each side of the Tīrthaṅkara, are standing.[4]

A third image of Pārśvanātha is noticed in a subsidiary shrine of the Sachiyā Mātā Temple. He is also seated on a *siṁhāsana* in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. He has curly hair which is tied in a small bun in the centre of his head. A seven-hooded *nāga* canopy is seen over his head, which is the usual *lāñchhana* of the Tīrthaṅkara. Two lions are seated under his *siṁhāsana*. One *chāmaradhāriṇī* is standing on either side of the Tīrthaṅkara. Two Nāginīs, one on each side, holding a flute are seen above them. The Nāginī standing on the right side is playing on it, while the one on the left is simply holding it in her hands.[5]

Mahāvīra

We notice an image of Mahāvīra seated on a well decorated *siṁhāsana* in 'the meditating' attitude. He has a *chhatra* raised over his head. An elephant, one vidyādhara and other figures are sculptured on either side of him. Besides these, two attendants, one on each side of the Tīrthaṅkara, are standing.[6]

Another image of Mahāvīra is enshrined in the *garbhagṛha* of the temple. He is seated on a *siṁhāsana* in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. Characteristic features like the *śrivatsa* symbol are noticed here. A big halo or a *prabhāmaṇḍala* is seen behind his head. A Yakṣa and a Yakṣī, one on each side of the Tīrthaṅkara, are standing with flower garlands. A lion is seated on either side of the *siṁhāsana*. It does not appear to be the original image; it might have been placed here later on. According to local people, however, it is the original image made of sandstone and is embellished with a golden coating to preserve it.[7]

There is one more image of Mahāvīra on the door-lintel of the sanctum. In this case also, he is seated on a *siṁhāsana* in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. He has a *chhatra* raised over his head. Two lions are seated back to back below his *siṁhāsana*.[8]

Mothers of Twenty-Four Tīrthaṅkaras

A more interesting representation is noticed on a stone plaque which is now placed in the *nāl-*

maṇḍapa of the same temple. Here, in four rows, we have the representations of the mothers of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. They are seated on low pedestals in the *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* pose. Each one is supporting with her left arm a small child seated on her left thigh. Their right hands hold an indistinct object, probably a fruit. One male attendant and one female attendant, one on each side of the first row (from below), are standing with their hands in the *añjali-mudrā*. Attendants are missing from the other three rows. In the third and fourth rows, small temple *śikharas* have been sculptured. Down below an inscription is engraved on it dated 1075 V.S.[9] Dr U.P. Shah says about this plaque: "Practice of carving such *paṭṭas* of the Madonna continued in the medieval period, such specimens being available at Patan, Girnar, Abu, etc., but the Osian plaque is the earliest yet discovered."[10]

In addition to the independent images of Tīrthaṅkaras mentioned above, we have also the representations of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras on the shafts of the *toraṇa*; eight at the top and four at the base of each pillar.

In the case of the eastern pillar, eight seated images of Tīrthaṅkaras at the top are in the *dhyāna-mudrā* on a *siṁhāsana*. Two lions are seated back to back below the *siṁhāsana*. The Tīrthaṅkaras have curly hair and have a *chhatra* raised over their heads. Two vidyādharas, one on each side of the Tīrthaṅkara figures, are seen holding flower garlands in their hands. Four seated images are seen at the base on a *siṁhāsana* as above, but here the vidyādharas are missing, while a male figure stands on either side of each (Photograph 5).

Of a similar type, twelve seated Tīrthaṅkaras (eight at the top and four at the base) are represented on the western pillar. Here the Tīrthaṅkaras are seated on a lotus throne in place of a *siṁhāsana*. Lotus-stalks are seen below the lotus leaves.

In addition to these, four standing images are sculptured on each shaft. They are standing *sam-bhaṅga* in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. They wear a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, a *vanamālā* and other usual ornaments. One *chaurī*-bearer and one male attendant are standing on each side of the main figure. They have been described as the images of Jīvantaswāmī Mahāvīra by M.A. Dhaky.[11]

Story of Neminātha

The *adhiṣṭhāna* friezes of the two subsidiary shrines of Jaina temple contain the life story of Neminātha from birth to renunciation. The description is presented below.

In the birth scene of Neminātha, he is shown lying on the right side of his mother. Both the mother and child are lying on a decorated couch. Three female attendants are standing on the head side of Śivadevī. One of them is seen with her hands in the *añjali-mudrā*, the second one is holding a *chaurī* as if waving it on her, and the third one is shown as massaging the feet of the queen. The next panel shows the mother and child lying on a couch in the same pose as mentioned above, but with the difference that two male figures are standing on the head side of the queen. Another couple is shown along with these having a child in their arms. The male figures are seated on the back of an elephant, which is standing behind the couple. It appears that all of them have come to honour Śivadevī. The rest of the panels on this shrine depict the scenes of music and dance in which men and women are playing various musical instruments and are dancing.[12]

One of the *adhiṣṭhāna* friezes of the next shrine shows the marriage procession of Neminātha.[13] He is seated on a chariot, the horses of which appear to be running on the road. A charioteer is seated in front holding the reins. A man, with a sword in his right hand, is seen leading a number of animals, such as deer, sheep, boar, etc. just behind the chariot. It appears that he is going to slaughter them for the different dishes to be served to the groom's party (Photograph 44).[14] According to the story, when Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha started from his own palace, on his way he saw animals kept in cages and enclosures, as if miserable and overcome by fear. He enquired of his charioteer why those animals were kept in cages and enclosures. The charioteer answered that they would furnish food to the guests at his wedding. Thereupon, knowing of the slaughter of so many animals, Ariṣṭanemi said, "If for my sake so many living beings are to be killed, I shall not obtain happiness in the next world." He then

made up his mind to renounce the life of a householder.[15]

The next panel shows that Neminātha, renouncing his householder's life, is meditating. Subsequently, according to local people, he plucked his hair after his renunciation. Four persons on his right side and five persons on his left are standing in a line. The men, who are standing near him, are shown with their open palms, as if they are reverently receiving his hair. The rest of them are seen with their hands in the *añjali-mudrā*. The last panel of the shrine shows that the Tīrthaṅkara is seated in the meditating attitude under the small temple *śikhara*. Two persons, one on each side of the Tīrthaṅkara, are seen seated. Besides these, other male figures are shown in different postures on either side of the Tīrthaṅkara.[16]

Miscellaneous Images

Jīvantaswāmī

We notice an image of Jīvantaswāmī standing *sambhaṅga* in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. He wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* as well as other usual ornaments. *Chakra* and *padma* are probably represented on his palms, but these are not very distinct. He is flanked by one male attendant on either side.[17]

Jina Kalyāṇaka

Jina Kalyāṇaka is seated on a *padmāsana*. He is putting on a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and he holds a *ghaṭa* in one hand, while the other one is mutilated. One female and two male figures are standing on his right side holding water-vessels in their hands. Similarly, on his left side, one female figure and one male figure are shown carrying water-pots, as if all of them are pouring water on the chief deity.[18]

Yakṣas

Among the Yakṣas, we notice the images of Pārśva Yakṣa, Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa,[19] Brahmaśānti Yakṣa, etc.

Brahmaśānti Yakṣa

The image of Brahmaśānti Yakṣa, seated on a *padmāsana*, has four hands. The upper right and the lower left hands hold a *sruva* and a *yajñapātra* (not very distinct); the lower right hand is in the *varada-mudrā*, while the upper left hand is broken. A small figure of *haṁsa* is also seen here.[20]

Yakṣiṇīs

We notice only the images of three Yakṣiṇīs at Osian, namely, those of Chakreśvarī, Nirvāṇī and Ambikā. Their description is as follows.

Chakreśvarī

There are several images of Chakreśvarī sculptured on different parts of the temple. Of these, one is standing and the rest are seated.

Standing Images

In the standing posture, she holds a *chakra* in each of her four hands. Garuḍa, her usual *vāhana*, is standing with his hands in the *añjali-mudrā* on her left side. She is draped in a loose *sārī* and is adorned with *bendā*, *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, etc. (Photograph 45).[21]

Seated Images

In the case of the seated images she is shown riding on Garuḍa, like Lord Viṣṇu and carries a *chakra* in each of her four hands. She wears a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and other usual ornaments.[22]

Nirvāṇī

Yakṣī Nirvāṇī has four hands and is seated on a lotus throne. Her two upper hands hold lotuses, the lower right is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the lower left, partly broken, carries a *kamaṇḍalu*.[23]

Ambikā

Siṁhavāhinī Ambikā is represented only with two arms. She invariably holds a bunch of fruits in her right hand and supports with her left arm the small figure of a child, who is seated on her left thigh.[24] In one of the images, her *vāhana*, the lion, is missing.[25] She has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and puts on usual dress and ornaments.

Vidyādevīs

We have good representations of vidyādevīs at Osian. Their images are usually noticed on the door-lintels, door-jambs and outer *adhiṣṭhāna* niches of the subsidiary shrines as well as at several places inside the temple.

Sarasvatī

Only two figures of Sarasvatī are noticed here. One of them is two-handed and the other is four-handed. The former holds a *vīṇā* with both her hands and is seated on a lotus-leaf.[26] The latter has four hands; the lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the two upper hands hold a book and a flower, and the remaining lower left has an indistinct object. Her *vāhana* swan is missing. She is simply seated on a pedestal.[27]

Rohiṇī

Several four-handed images of Rohiṇī are noticed here. In all these images, her two upper hands usually hold an arrow and a bow, though in one case the order is changed.[28] The lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*,[29] or *abhaya* with a rosary,[30] or holds only a rosary,[31] while the lower left hand either holds a fruit,[32] or some indistinct object.[33] In one image, both the lower hands are damaged.[34] She is in all cases adorned with *kuṇḍalas*, a *hāra*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *nūpuras* and a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. She is seated on a cow, her usual *vāhana*.

Prajñāpati

We notice only two images of Prajñāpati at Osian. In both the images, she is shown sitting on a peacock. In one of the images, the two upper hands carry *śakti*, the lower right is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the lower left has a fruit.[35] In the second case, the two lower hands are broken and the two upper ones carry a bow and some weapon resembling an arrow or a shield.[36]

Vajra-Śṛiṁkhalā

We notice several images of this Vidyādevī, either two-handed or four-handed. Their description is as follows.

Two-Handed Images

In this case, we notice only six images. In one of the images, she is holding a long flower garland in her hands, but in the other images she holds a *gadā* either in the right[37] or in the left hand,[38] while the other hand is held either in the *varada-mudrā*[39] or the *abhaya-mudrā* and holds a rosary,[40] though it is mutilated in some cases.[41] She is usually shown seated on a lotus throne, but in one case, she is seated on a pedestal.[42]

Four-Handed Images

In the four-handed images, the two upper hands either hold flowers,[43] or a flower garland keeping it behind the head. The lower right hand, if not mutilated,[44] is held either in the *varada-mudrā*[45] or the *abhaya-mudrā*,[46] and the lower left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*,[47] or is mutilated.[48] In all these images, she is seated on a lotus throne in the *lalitāsana* pose. She wears the usual dress and ornaments like the other vidyādevīs and has a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*.

Vajraṁkuśā

Only four images of Vajraṁkuśa are noticed here. In three cases, the two upper hands hold a *vajra* and an *aṁkuśa*; the lower right is in the *varada-mudrā* and holds a rosary,[49] or is in the *varada-mudrā*[50] or is mutilated,[51] and the lower left usually carries a citrus fruit. In one case, the two upper hands hold an *aṁkuśa* and a *vajra*, the lower right is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the lower left hand holds a citrus fruit, as the in image mentioned above.[52] She is always represented as seated on the back of an elephant, her usual *vāhana*. Her person is adorned with the usual garb and ornaments and has a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭā*.

Mahākālī

We notice only three images of this Vidyādevī. In one of the images, her two upper hands carry a *vajra* and a *ghaṇṭā*, the lower right is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the lower left hand has a fruit.[53] In the second image, the two upper hands hold a *vajra* and an indistinct object; the lower left has a *ghaṇṭā*, and the lower right is mutilated.[54] In the third case, the lower right hand has a *vajra*, the two upper ones carry a fruit and a bell, and the lower left one holds a rosary.[55] She is clad in a *sārī* and a scarf, and the usual ornaments include *kuṇḍalas*, *hāra*, *kaṁkaṇas*, *nūpuras*, etc., and has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on her head. She is seated on a man or a corpse, her usual *vāhana*.

Puruṣadattā

Only six images of this Vidyādevī have been found here. In all these images, she appears with two hands holding a sword and a shield. She is shown seated on the back of a buffalo,[56] but in one case her *vāhana* is missing.[57]

Kālī

An image of Kālī is represented with two hands. She is seated on a lotus throne and holds a club in her right hand, while the left one is in the *abhaya-mudrā* with a rosary. Her person is adorned with *ekāvalī*, *kuṇḍalas*, *keyūras*, *kaṁkaṇas*, *nūpuras*, including a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on her head.[58]

Gaurī

We notice an image of Gaurī with two arms seated probably on an alligator. She carries a club

and a full-blown flower in her hands. Her person is adorned with the usual ornaments and she wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa.*[59]

Gāndhārī

Only four images of Gāndhārī are noticed here. She is represented as two-handed, holding a *daṇḍa* and a *vajra,*[60] but in one image, the order is changed.[61] She is usually shown seated on a lotus throne. Only in one case is she seated on a low seat.[62]

Vairoṭī

Several images of Vairoṭī are noticed at Osian which represent her as four-handed and some six-handed. Their description is as follows.

Four-Handed Images

In this case, the two upper hands of this Vidyādevī hold either a snake and a shield,[63] or only a snake in each of her hands,[64] the two lower hands either hold a sword and a snake,[65] or a sword and a shield,[66] or one of them is in the *varada-mudrā* and another holds an indistinct object.[67] At one place, we notice her seated on the interlinked tails of a Nāga couple consisting of Nāga and Nāginī. They are represented above their *kaṭi* in the form of normal human beings, but their lower parts are serpentine and interlinked,[68] while in the other images we notice her seated on a single snake.

Six-Handed Images

In this case, her first hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right) rests on her right hanging leg; the third holds a sword; the fourth is concealed from view; the fifth and sixth carry a snake and a shield. She is seated in the *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* pose whose upper portion is human in form and the lower is serpentine. Her hands are shown in the *añjali-mudrā.* Her person is adorned with the usual dress and ornaments.[69]

Achyuptā

There are only seven images of Achyuptā. Of these, five are seated, and two are standing. All are four-handed. Their description is as follows.

Standing Images

In the standing images, she is shown standing *tribhaṅga* in front of her *vāhana,* the horse. In one of the delineations, the two upper hands hold a sword and a shield and the two lower hands carry an arrow and a bow.[70] In the second case, the two upper hands hold an arrow and a shield, the lower right is in the *abhaya-mudrā* and the lower left is holding a bow.[71] She is draped in the usual dress and ornaments and has a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa.*

Seated Images

In the case of the seated images, she is shown riding a horse. Her two upper hands carry either a sword and a shield[72] or an arrow and a shield[73] while the two lower hands hold either a sword and a bow[74] or a sword and the reins of horses,[75] or are damaged[76] and indistinct. She wears the usual dress and ornaments and has a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* on her head.

Mahāmānsī

Only two representations of Mahāmānsī are noticed here. One is four-handed and the other is six-handed.

Four-Handed Image

She is seated on a lion in the *arddhaparyaṅkāsana* pose. Her lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the lower left holds a water-vessel and the two upper hands carry a sword and a lance (not distinct). She has a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and the usual ornaments.[77]

Six-Handed Image

In this case, she is seated on her *vāhana*, the lion. Her lower right hand (clockwise, beginning with the lower right) is held in the *varada-mudrā*, while the other hands carry an arrow, a lance (not distinct), a shield, a bow and a water-vessel. She is clad in a *sārī* and a scarf and is adorned with the usual ornaments.[78]

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5. S.M.T., S.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
6. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Jaṅghā, Outer E. Wall.
7. Ibid., Sanc, Inside.
8. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Sanc, Door-lintel.
9. संवत 1259 कार्तिक सु० 12 सुचेत सहदिगः पुत्रेः । शशु दरदी सुखदी सत्ल सवूप्रसादे चतुर्विशंति जिनः मातृ पट्टिका निज मातृ जन्हव श्रेयार्थं । कारिता श्री कक्क सूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठिता ।।
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12. J.T., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer N. Wall.
13. Cf. Dhaky, M.A., *SEJTWI*, p. 320.
14. J.T., S.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer E. Wall.
15. *JUPHS*, Vol. XXXII, p. 22.
16. J.T., S.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ, fz, Outer S. Wall.
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20. J.T., S.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer S. Wall.
21. Ibid., Maṇḍ, Jaṅghā, Outer W. Wall.
22. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer N. Wall, S.E. Shrine, Door-lintel, Adhiṣ niches, Outer E. Wall, S.W. Shrine, Door-lintel, Adhiṣ niches, Outer W. Wall.
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24. J.T., N.E. & W. Shrines, Adhiṣ niches, Outer N. & S. Walls.
25. Ibid., Maṇḍ, Roof, Outer N. Wall.
26. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer N. Wall.
27. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer N. Wall; cf. Dhaky, M.A., op. cit., p. 321.
28. J.T., S.W. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer S. Wall.
29. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Door-lintel.
30. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Door-lintel.
31. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Door-jamb.
32. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Door-lintel & Door-jamb.
33. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer N. Wall.
34. Ibid., S.W. Shrine, Door-jamb.
35. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Door-jamb.
36. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Door-jamb.
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70. Ibid., Maṇḍ, Inside, W. Wall.
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72. Ibid., N.E. Shrine, Adhiṣ niches, Outer S. Wall, S.E. Shrine, Door-jamb.
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75. Ibid., N.W. Shrine, Door-jamb.
76. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Door-jamb.
77. Ibid., Maṇḍ, Inside.
78. Ibid., S.E. Shrine, Door-lintel.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS (LINE-DRAWINGS)

PLATES

I Female Dress

1. Tight-fitting *sārī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
2. *Dupaṭṭā* and loose *sārī* (Harihara Temple No. III)
3. *Lahaṅgā* (Harihara Temple No. III)
4. *Dupaṭṭā* and back view of tight-fitting *sārī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
5. *Kañchukī* (Piplā Devī Temple)
6. *Kañchukī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

II Female Dress

1. *Kuḍtā* and tight-fitting *sārī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
2. *Dupaṭṭā* and *sārī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple).
3. *Dupaṭṭā* and *lahaṅgā* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
4. Back view of *kañchukī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
5. *Lahaṅgā* (Harihara Temple No. III)

III Female Dress and Male Ornaments

1. *Dupaṭṭā* and *sārī* (Jaina Temple)
2. *Dupaṭṭā* and *sārī* (Harihara Temple No. I).
3. *Luṅgī* (Jaina Temple)
4. Male *mekhalā* (Jaina Temple)
5. Male *mekhalā* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

IV Female Dress and Cosmetics

1. *Dupaṭṭā* (Jaina Temple)
2. *Dupaṭṭā* (Jaina Temple)
3. Lady putting on vermilion mark (Jaina Temple)

V Male Dress

1. Back view of musician's *dhotī* (Harihara Temple No. III)
2. Front view of musician's *dhotī* (Harihara Temple No. III)
3. *Jāṅghiā* (Harihara Temple No. III).
4. *Dhotī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
5. *Dhotī* (Harihara Temple No. III)
6. *Dhotī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

VI Male and Female Dress

1. Knicker (Sūrya Temple)
2. *Sārī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

3. *Dhotī* (Sūrya Temple)
4. *Dhotī* (Piplā Devī Temple)
5. *Dupaṭṭā* and *dhotī* of musician (Sardar Museum)
6. *Kaupīna* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

VII Dress and Coiffure

1. *Kañchukī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
2. *Veṇī* (Harihara Temple No. I)
3. Loose hair (Jaina Temple).
4. Back view of a warrior's *dhotī* (Sūrya Temple)
5. Front view of a warrior's *dhotī* (Sūrya Temple)

VIII Miscellaneous

1. *Uttarīya* and *dhotī* (Jaina Temple)
2. *Sārī* with border (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
3. Varuṇa standing on a *ghaṭa* (Viṣṇu Temple No. I)

IX Neck and Ear Ornaments

1. *Haṁsulī* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
2-4. Necklace (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
5. Necklace *ekāvali* (Harihara Temple Nos. I, II & III)
6. Necklace (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
7. Ear-ring (Jaina Temple)
8. Ear-ring (Harihara Temple No. III)
9-10. Ear-ring (Sachiya Mātā Temple)
11. Ear-ring (Harihara Temple No. I)
12. Ear-ring (Jaina Temple)
13-14. Ear-ring (Harihara Temple No. I)

X Necklaces

1. Necklace (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
2. Necklace (Jaina Temple)
3. Necklace (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
4. Necklace (Jaina Temple)
5. Necklace (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
6. Necklace (Harihara Temple Nos. I, II & III)
7-9. Necklace (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

XI Armlets, Bracelets and Anklets

1. Armlet (Sūrya Temple)
2. Armlet (Harihara Temple No. III)
3. Armlet (Jaina Temple)
4. Armlet (Harihara Temple No. III)
5. Armlet (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
6. Armlet (Piplā Devī Temple)
7. Armlet (Harihara Temple No. II)
8. Armlet (Piplā Devī Temple)
9-11. Armlet (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
12. Armlet (Jaina Temple)
13-18. Armlet (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
19. Engraved *kaṅgana* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
20. Bracelet with *kaṅgana* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
21. Beaded bracelets (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
22. Simple and beaded bracelets (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
23. Simple bracelets (Jaina Temple)
24-25. Anklet (Viṣṇu Temple No. I)
26. Anklet (Harihara Temple Nos. II & III)
27. Anklet (Jaina Temple & Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
28. Anklet (Harihara Temple No. I)

XII Necklaces and Girdles

1-3. Necklaces and girdles (Jaina Temple)
4-6. Girdle (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

XIII Necklaces and Girdles

1-3. Necklaces and girdles (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
4. Girdle (Jaina Temple)
5-6. Girdle (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

XIV Girdles

1. Girdle (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
2. Girdle (Jaina Temple)
3. Girdle and necklace (Jaina Temple)
4. Girdle (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
5. Girdle (Jaina Temple)
6. Girdle (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

XV Coiffure and Head Ornaments

1. Śālabhañjikā (Harihara Temple No. III)
2. Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Sūrya Temple)
3. Gaja-Lakṣmī (Sardar Museum, Jodhpur)
4. Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Piplā Devī Temple)

XVI Coiffures of Females and Males

1. Śālabhañjikā (Harihara Temple No. II)
2. A lady (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
3. A lady (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
4. Pārvatī (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
5. A lady (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
6-7. A lady (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
8. Garuḍa (Harihara Temple No. I)

XVII Miscellaneous Head-dress

1. Lakṣmī (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
2. Viṣṇu (Harihara Temple No. III)
3. Viṣṇu (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
4. Īśāna (Harihara Temple No. III)
5. Brahmā (Harihara Temple No. III)
6. A lady (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
7. Garuḍa (Harihara Temple No. I)
8. Vāyu (Harihara Temple No. III)
9. Sūrya (Harihara Temple No. III)

XVIII Hair Styles, Moustaches and Beards

1. Hair style of a dvārapāla (Harihara Temple No. I)
2. Hair style, curved moustaches and curled beard (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
3. Hair style, moustaches and beard (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
4. Hair style, moustaches and beard (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
5. Hair style of a lady (Harihara Temple No. III)
6. Beard and hair style (Sachiyā Mātā (Temple)
7. Hair style of a male attendant of Śālabhañjikā (Harihara Temple No. III)
8. Hair style, moustaches and beard (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)

XIX Musical Instruments

1. *Mṛdaṅga* (Harihara Temple No. I)
2. *Mṛdaṅga* (Sūrya Temple)
3. *Ḍholaka* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
4. *Ḍholaka* (Harihara Temple No. II)
5. *Mṛdaṅga* (Harihara Temple No. III)
6. *Mṛdaṅga* (Harihara Temple No. III)
7. *Ḍholas* (Harihara Temple No. III)
8. *Ḍamaru* (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
9. *Ḍhola* (Harihara Temple No. I)
10. *Ekatārā* (*Bāwarī*).
11. *Ekatārā* (*Bāwarī*).
12. Trumpet (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
13. *Vīṇā* (Jaina Temple)
14. *Śaṅkha* (Jaina Temple)
15. Trumpet (Jaina Temple)
16. Trumpet (Jaina Temple)
17. Gong with a wooden mallet (Jaina Temple)

XX Swords, Bow and Arrow

1. Thrust sword (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
2-3. Thrust sword (Sūrya Temple).
4. Double-edged sword (Sūrya Temple)
5. Double-edged sword (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
6. Double-edged sword (Harihara Temple No. I)
7. Double-edged sword (Sūrya Temple)
8. Double-edged sword (Jaina Temple)
9-11. Curved sword (Sūrya Temple)
12. Curved sword (Jaina Temple)
13. Arrow (Sūrya Temple).
14. Bow and arrow (Sūrya Temple)
15. Cut sword (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
16. Quiver with arrows (Sūrya Temple)

XXI Weapons

1. Trident (Harihara Temple No. I)
2. Trident (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
3. Trident (Harihara Temple No. I)
4. Trident (Harihara Temple No. II)
5. Trident (Harihara Temple No. I)
6. Club (Harihara Temple No. I)
7. Spear (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
8. Club (Harihara Temple No. II)
9. Spear (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
10. Thunderbolt (Harihara Temple No. I)
11. *Khaṭvāṅga* (Harihara Temple No. III)
12. Trident (Viṣṇu Temple No. II)
13. Axe (Harihara Temple No. II)

XXII Discs, Shields, Conch and Plough

1. Disc (Jaina Temple)
2. Disc (Harihara Temple No. II)
3. Shield (Sūrya Temple)
4. Disc (Harihara Temple No. I)

5. Conch (Harihara Temple No. I)
6. Plough (Sūrya Temple)
7. Different types of weapons (Jaina Temple)
8. Shield (Sūrya Temple)

XXIII Bags and Seats

1. A lady carrying a bag (Jaina Temple)
2. A lady carrying a bag (Jaina Temple)
3. An attendant of Śālabhañjikā carrying a bag (Harihara Temple No. II)
4. A man holding a bag (Harihara Temple No. III)
5. An attendant of Śālabhañjikā carrying a bag (Harihara Temple No. II)
6. A man carrying a bag (Harihara Temple No. II)
7. A man carrying a bag (Harihara Temple No. III)
8. An attendant holding a bag (Harihara Temple No. II)
9. An attendant carrying a bag (Harihara Temple No. II)
10. *Morhā* (Harihara Temple No. II)
11. *Morhā* (Jaina Temple)
12. *Morhā* (Harihara Temple No. I)
13. *Morhā* (Harihara Temple No. II)
14. Low *morhā* (Piplā Devī Temple)

XXIV Furniture

1. Seat (Jaina Temple)
2. Table (Jaina Temple)
3. Seat (Jaina Temple)
4. Small bench (Jaina Temple)
5. Seat (Jaina Temple)
6. Seat (Harihara Temple No. II)
7. Small seat (Harihara Temple No. II)
8. Chair (Jaina Temple)
9. Bench (Harihara Temple No. II)
10. Bedstead (Harihara Temple No. II)

XXV Utensils and Furniture

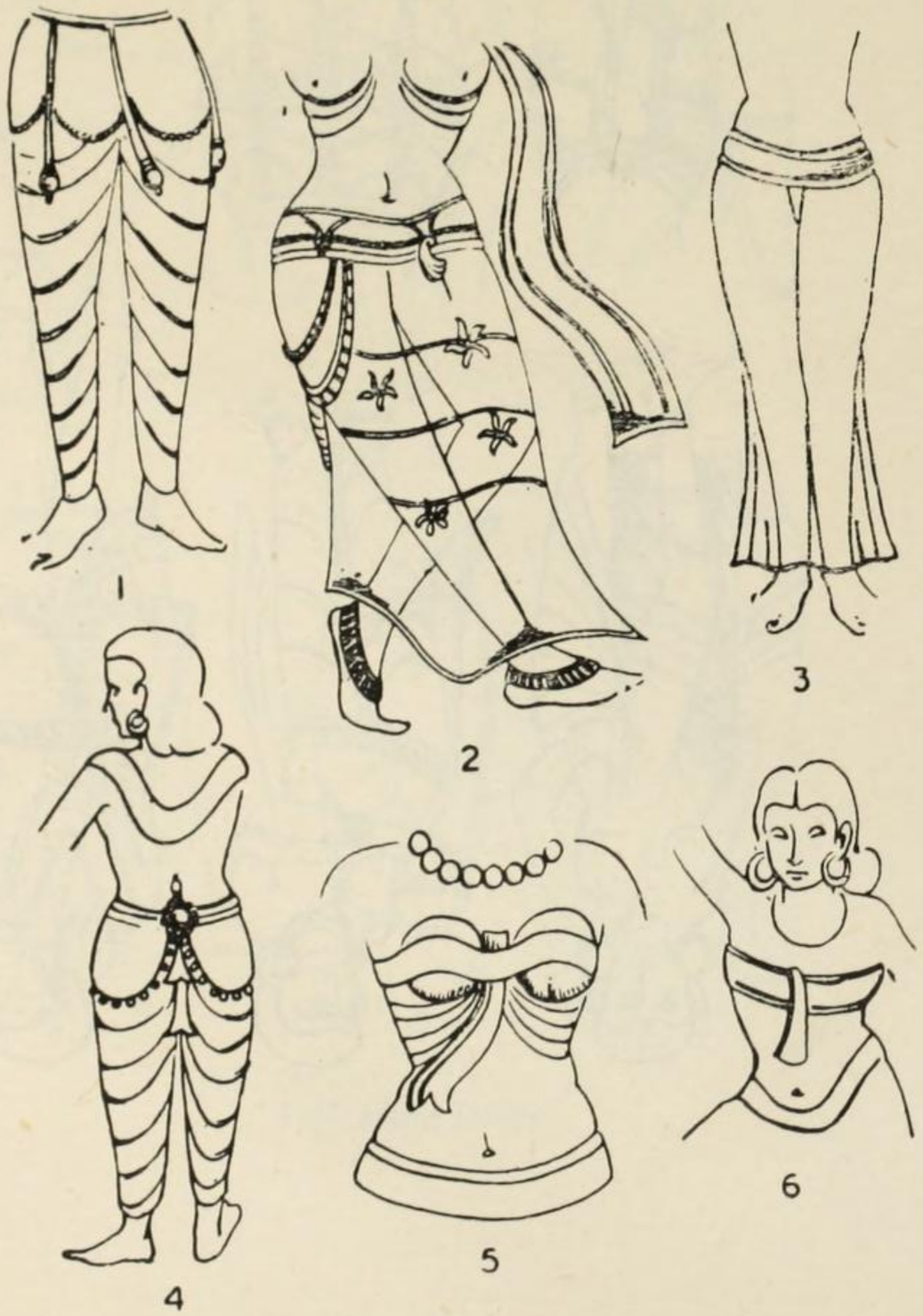
1-3. Bowls (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
4. Vessel (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
5. Decorated jar (Viṣṇu Temple No. II)
6. Spouted vessel (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
7. Decorated jar (Harihara Temple No. II)
8. Vessel (Harihara Temple No. I)
9. Vessel (Harihara Temple No. III)
10. Vessel (Harihara Temple No. II)
11. Bedstead (Harihara Temple No. II)
12. Bedstead with small jars (Jaina Temple)

XXVI Miscellaneous Articles

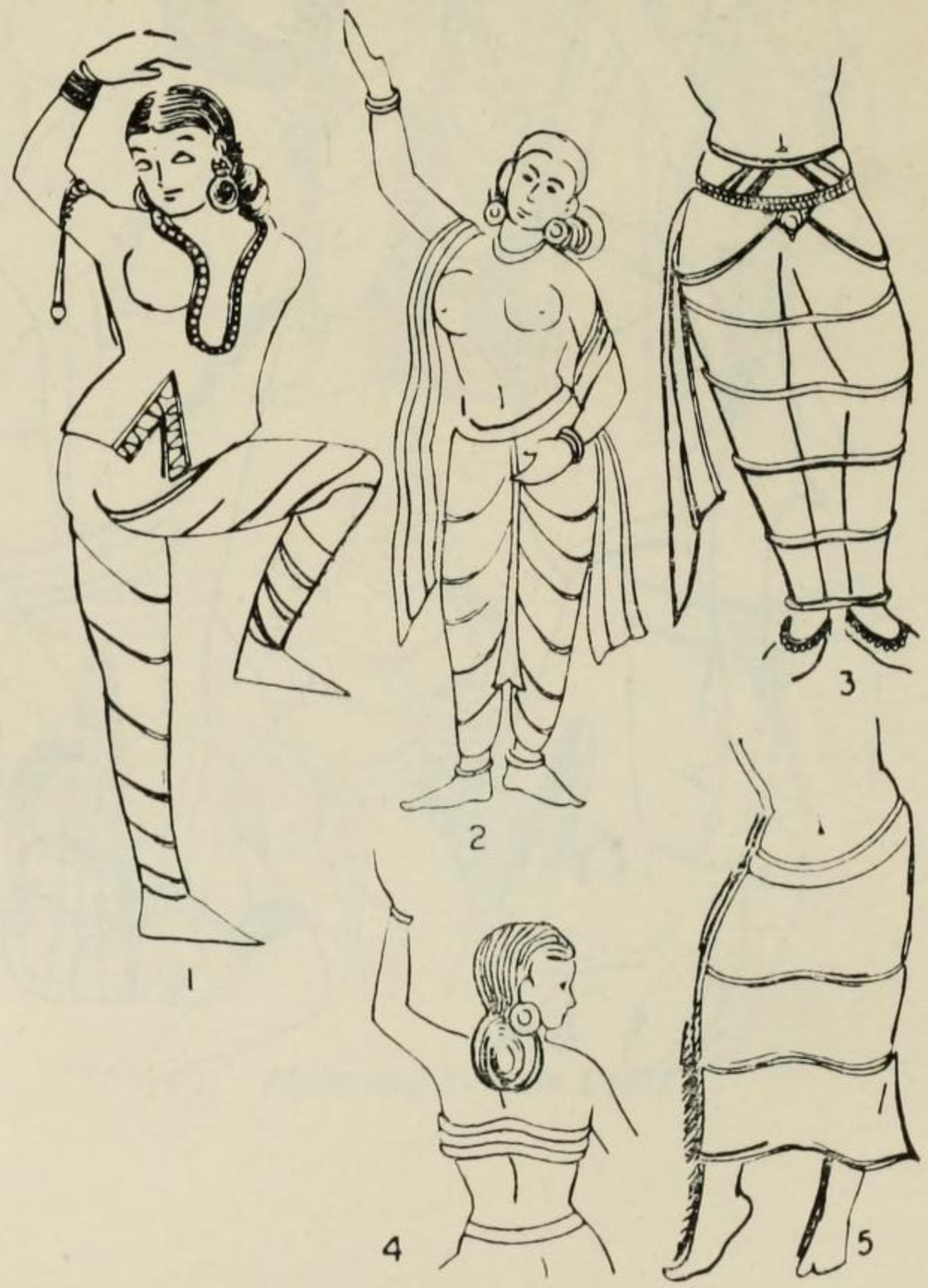
1. Churn-staff (Harihara Temple No. II)
2. Chariot (Jaina Temple)
3. Umbrella (Harihara Temple No. I)
4. Cart (Harihara Temple No. III)
5. Fan (Sachiyā Mātā Temple)
6. Bell (Harihara Temple No. III)
7. Vessel with lid (Viṣṇu Temple No. I)
8. *Morhā* (Piplā Devī Temple)

XXVII Textile Designs

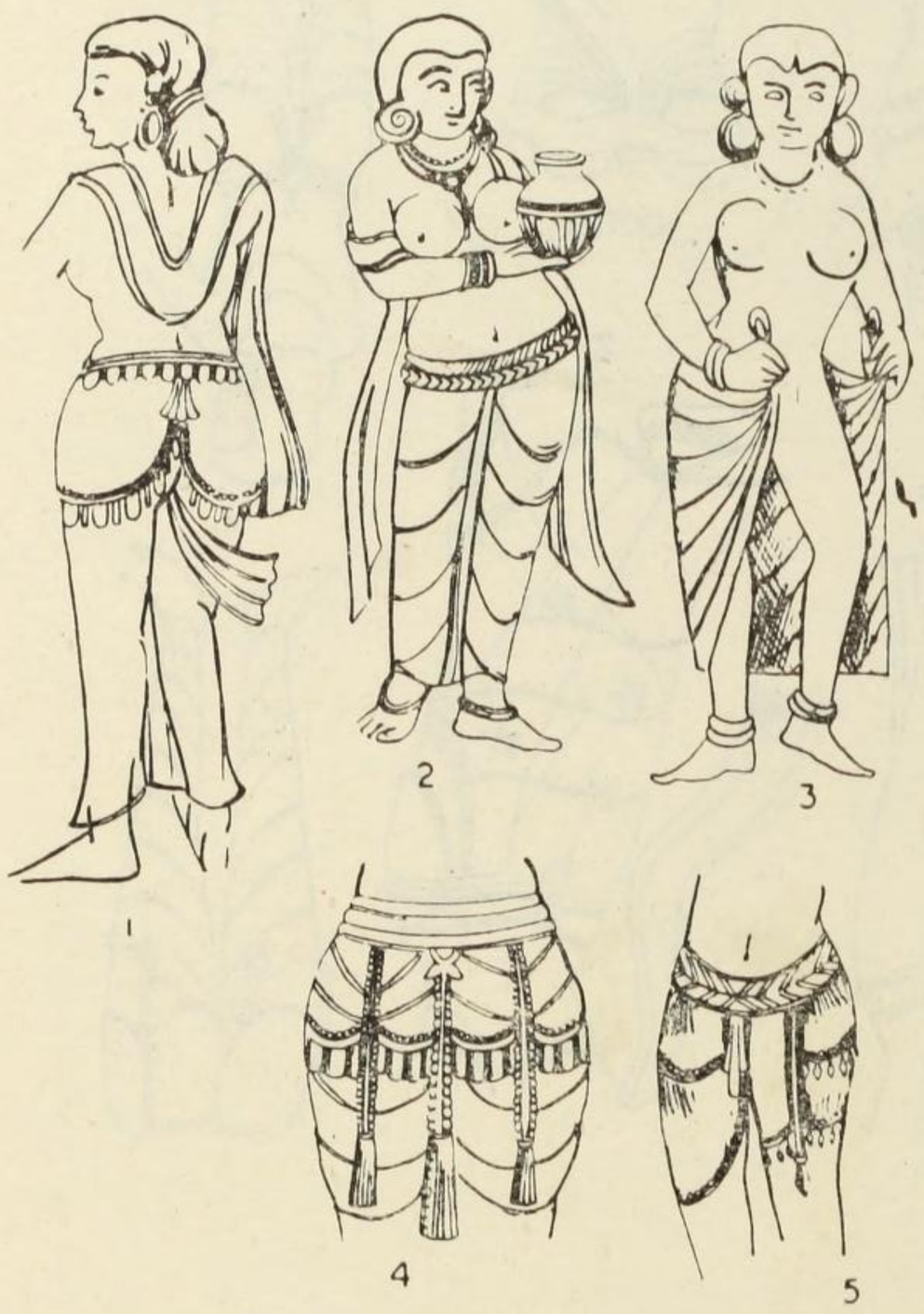
ILLUSTRATIONS



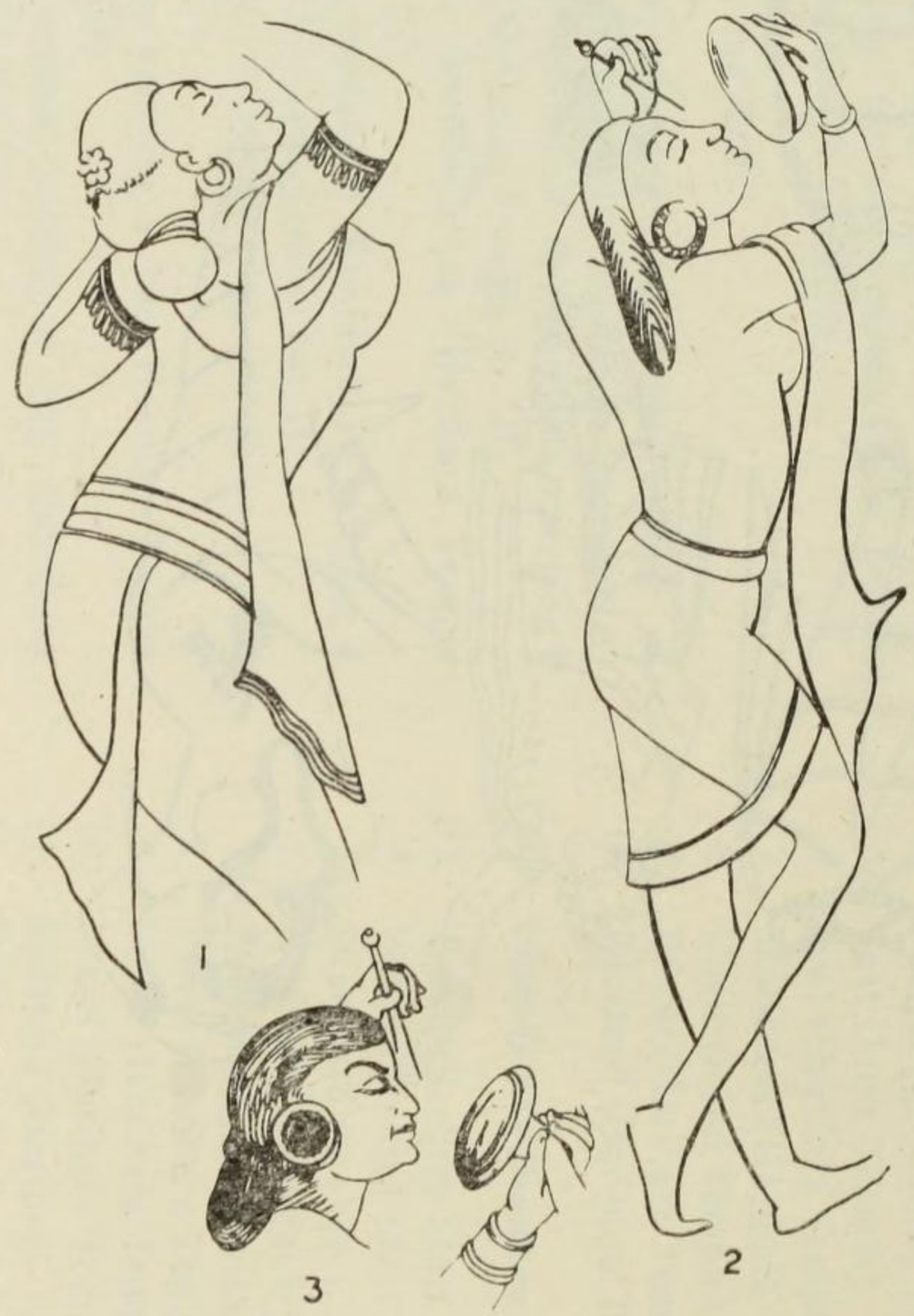
I. Female Dress



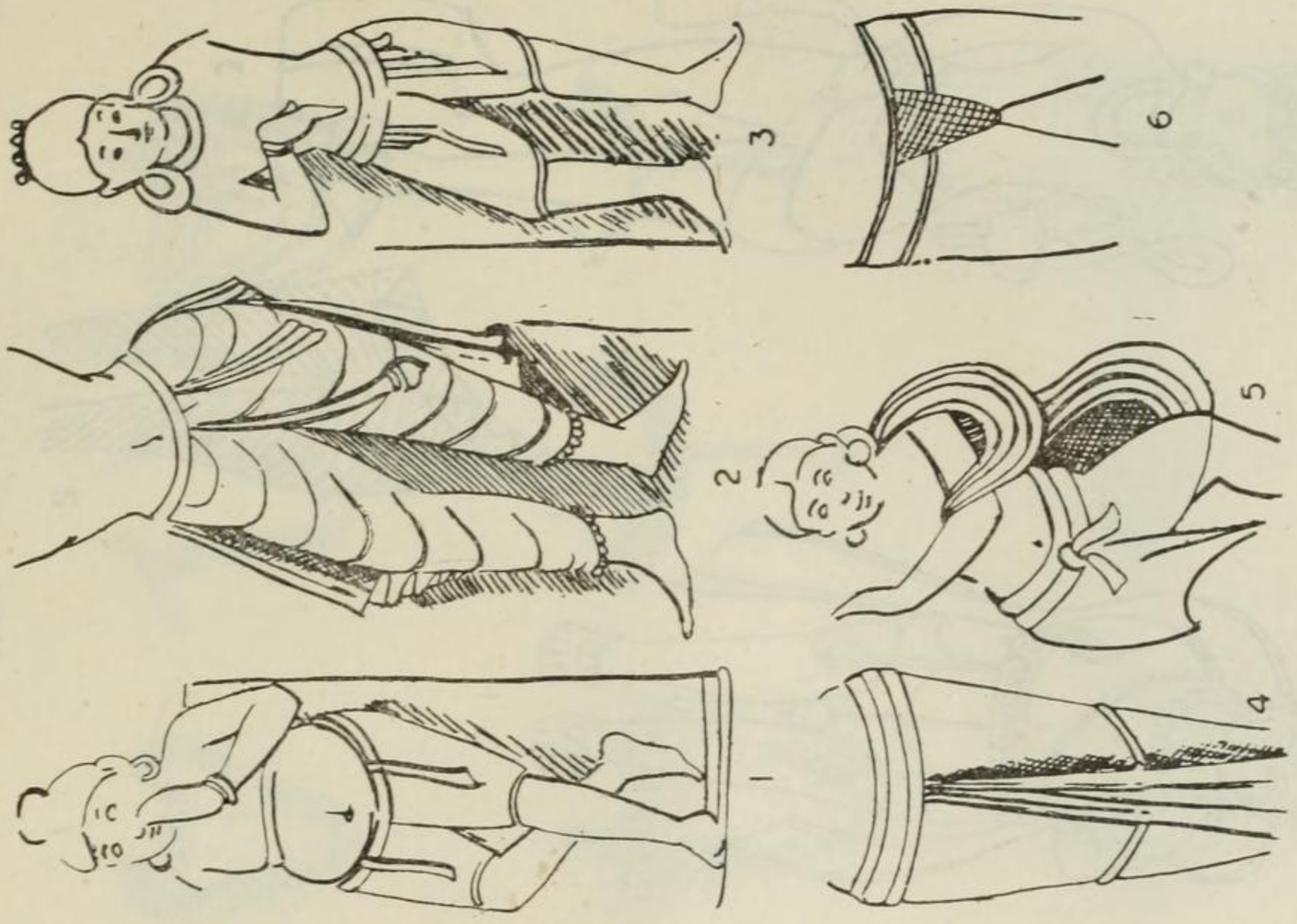
II. Female Dress



III. Female Dress and Male Ornaments



IV. Female Dress and Cosmetics



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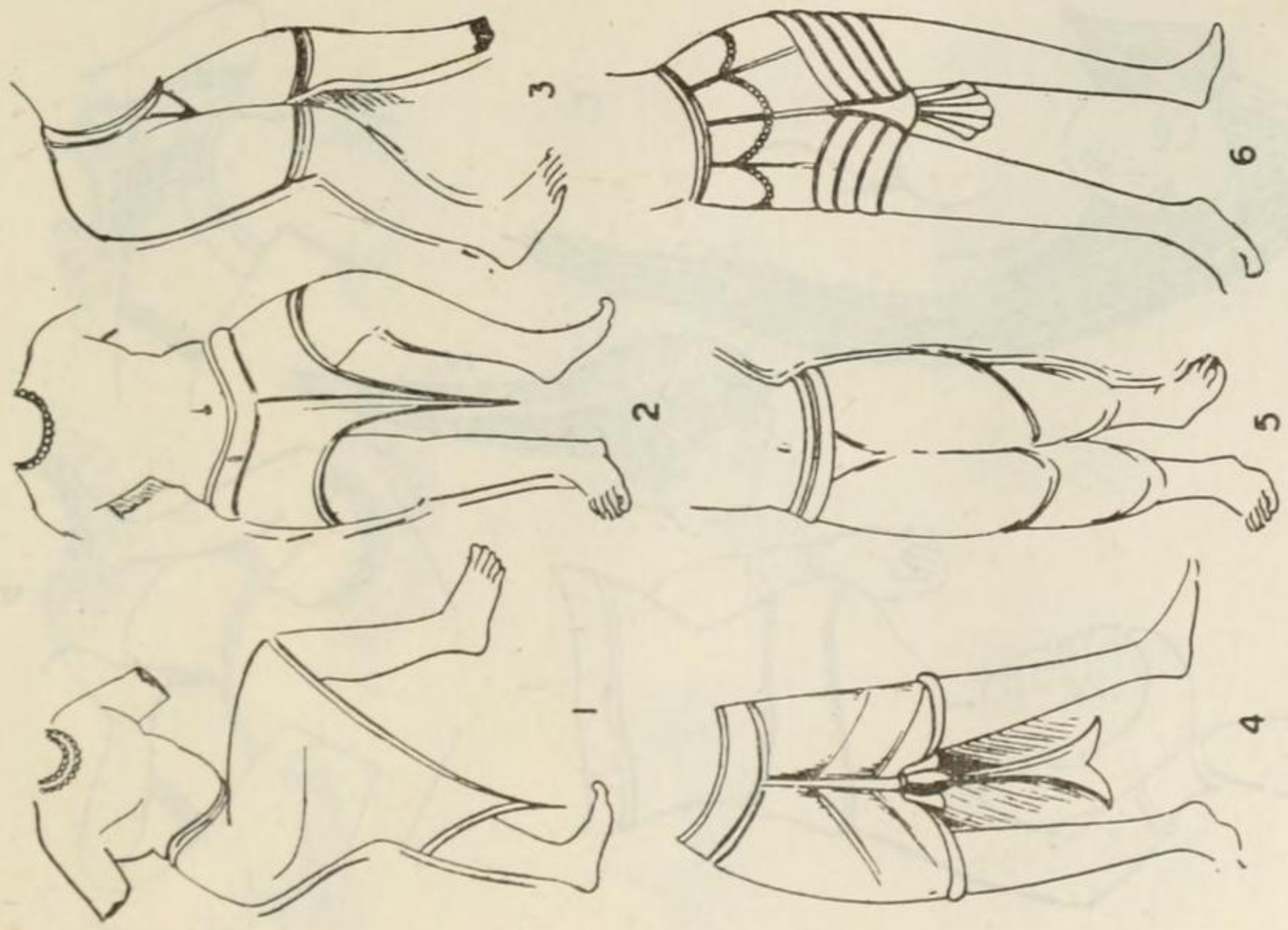

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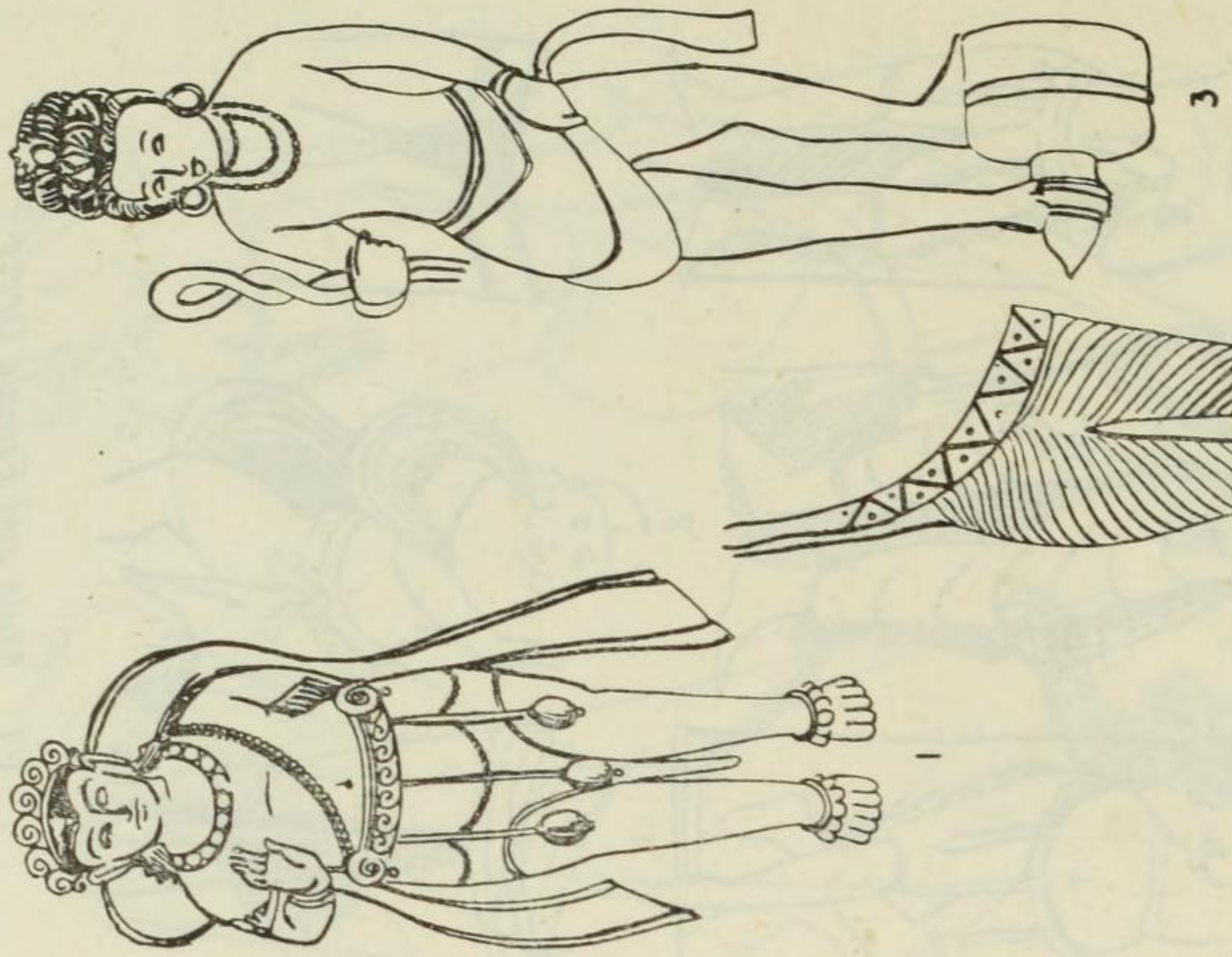
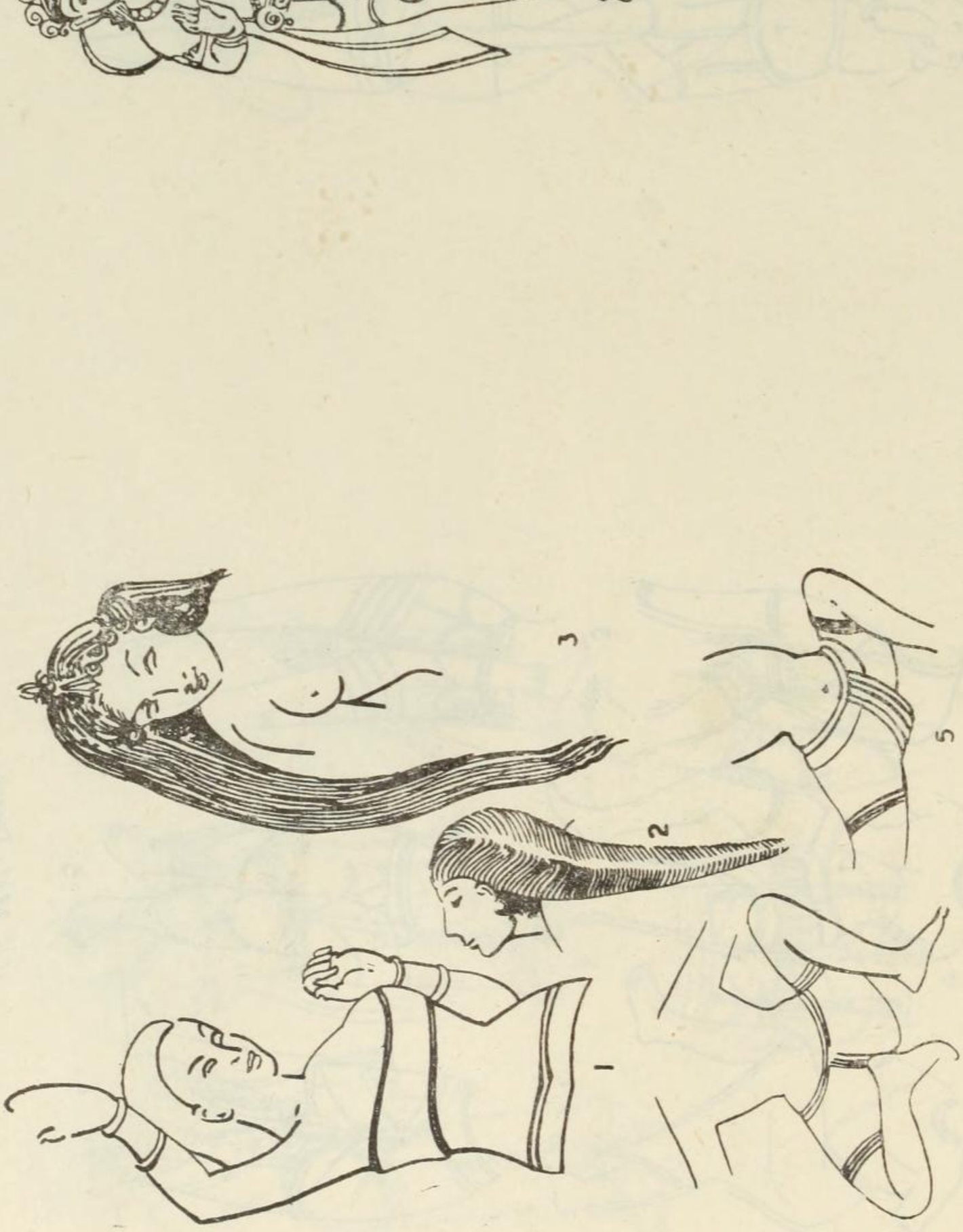
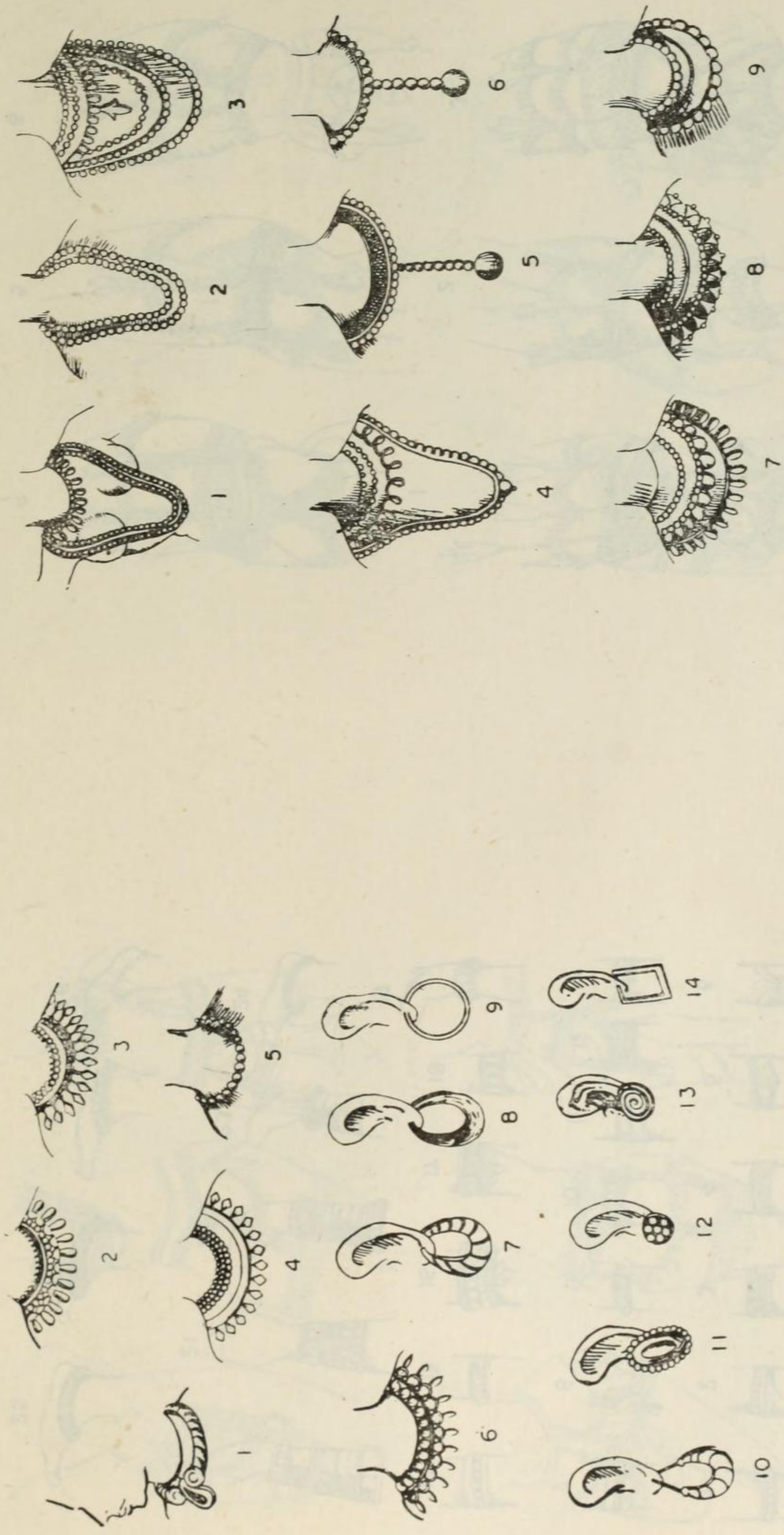


VIII. Miscellaneous

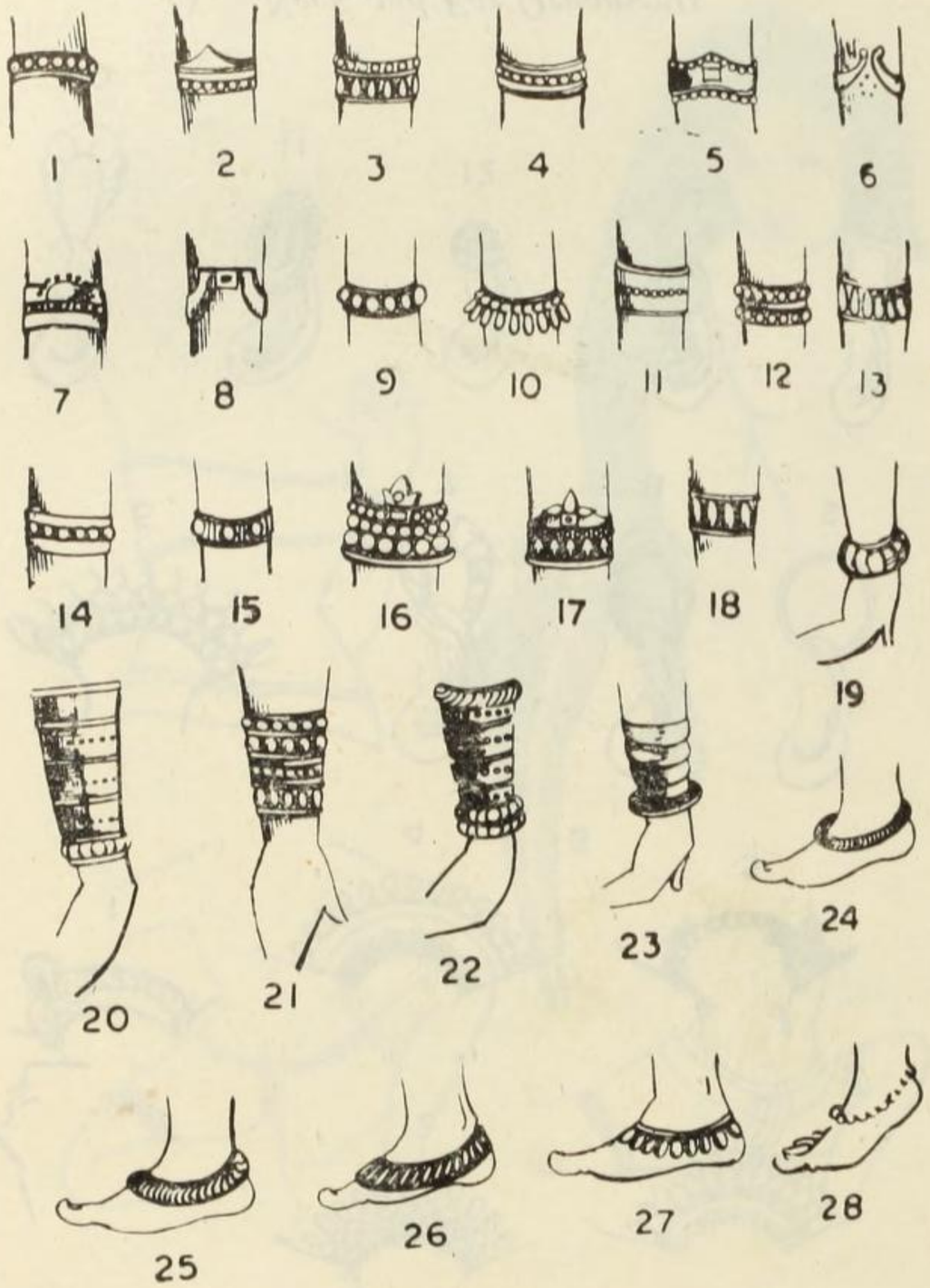


VII. Dress and Coiffure

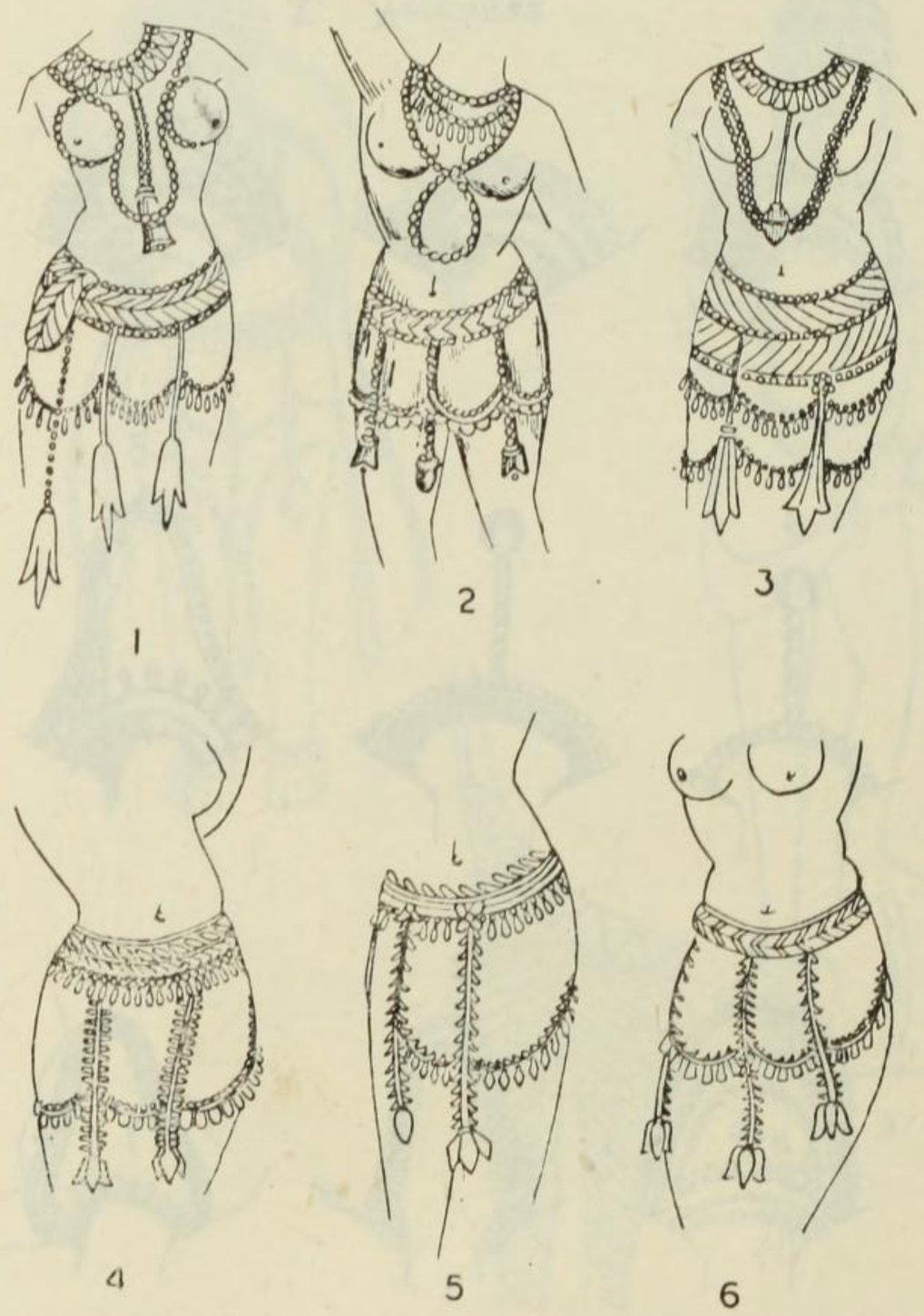


X. Necklaces

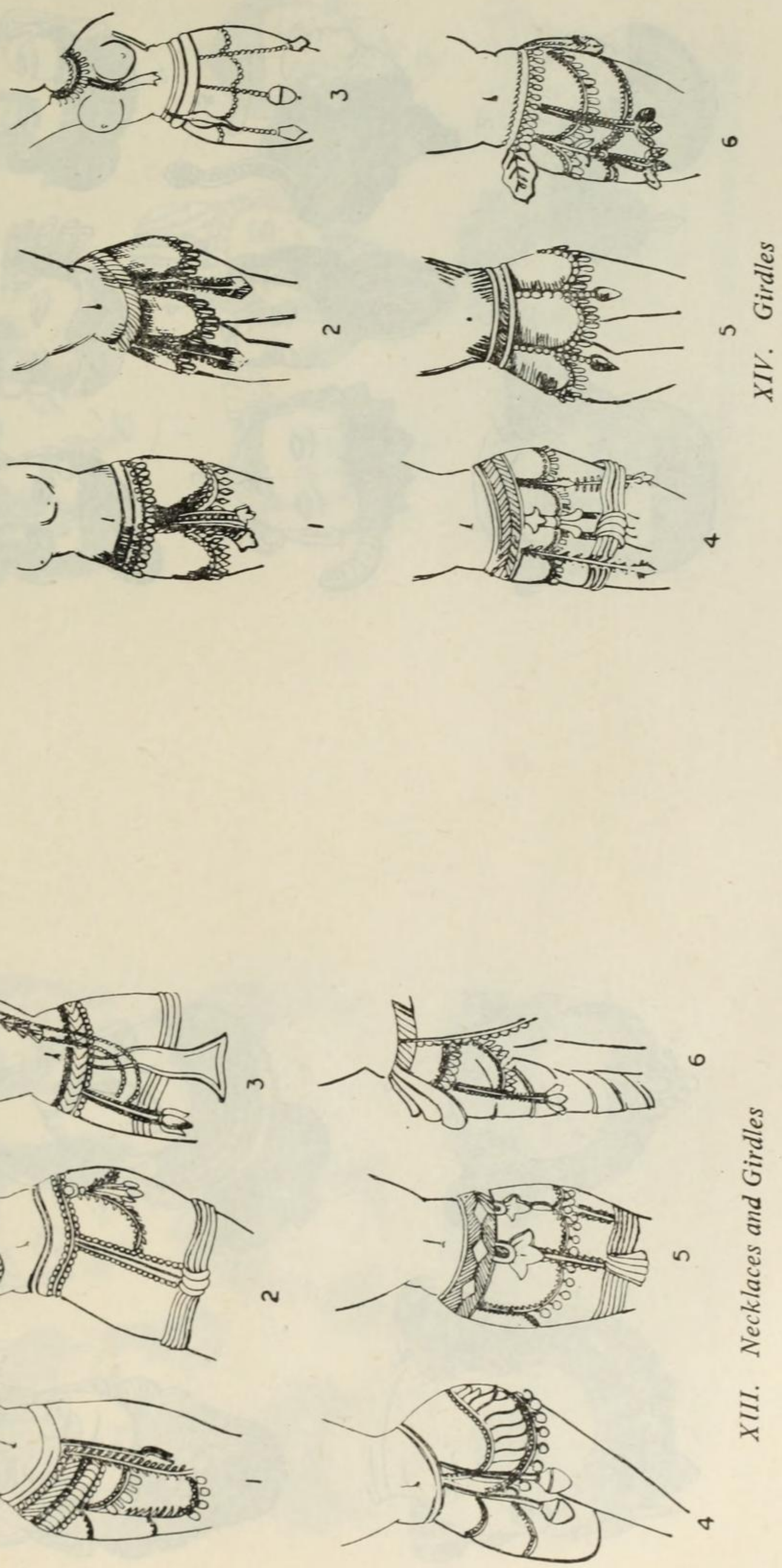
IX. Neck and Ear Ornaments



XI. Armlets, Bracelets and Anklets

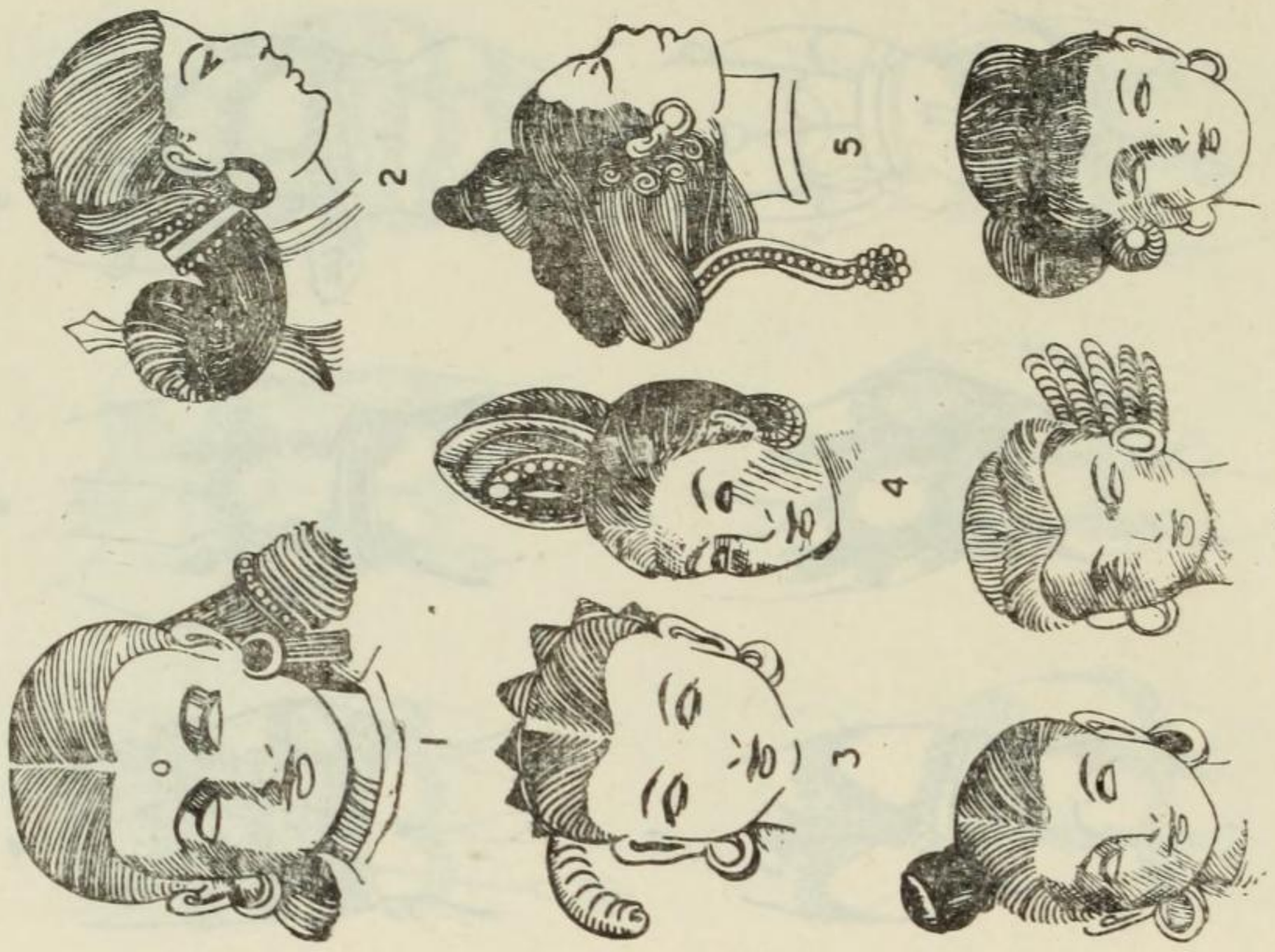


XII. Necklaces and Girdles

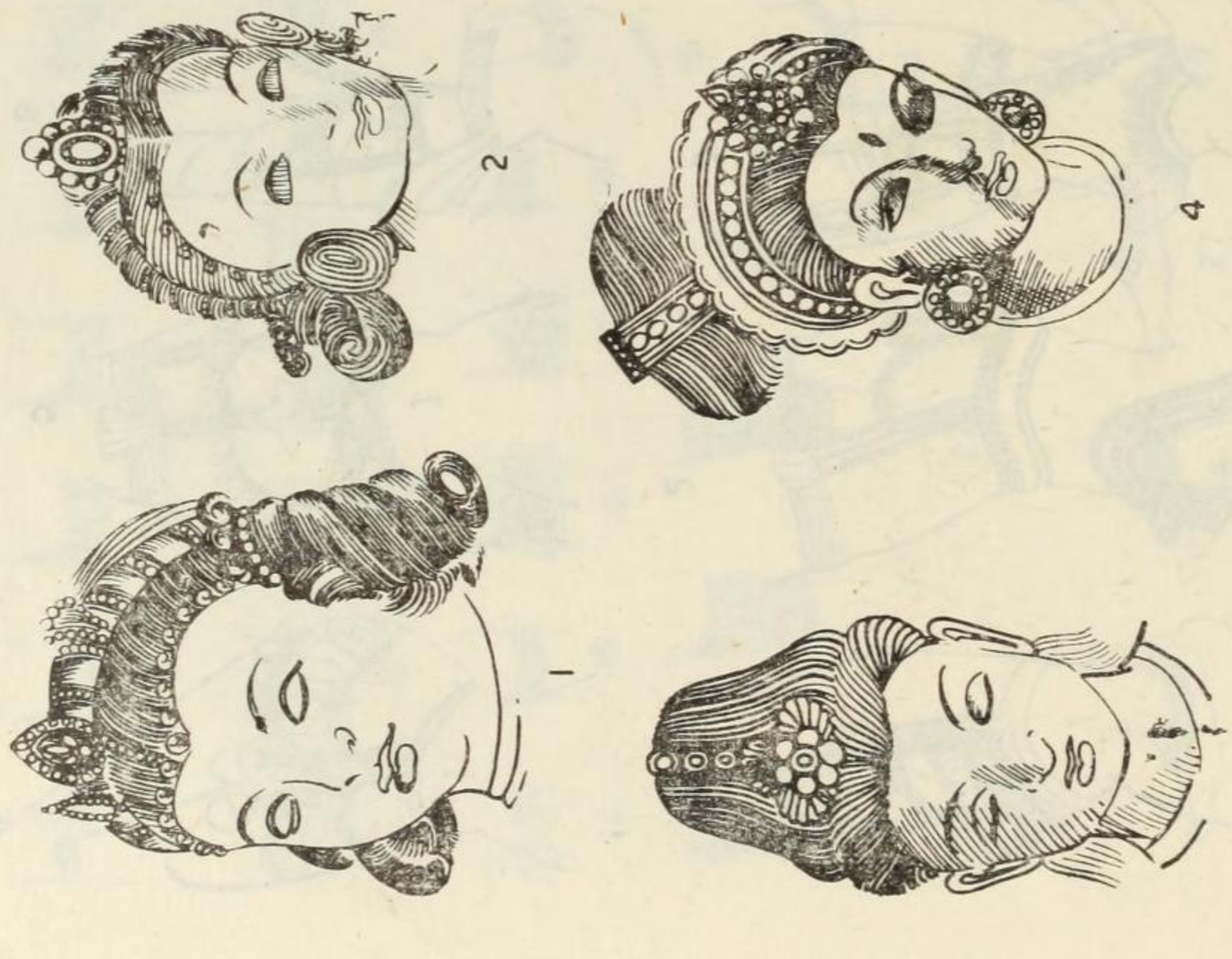


XIV. Girdles

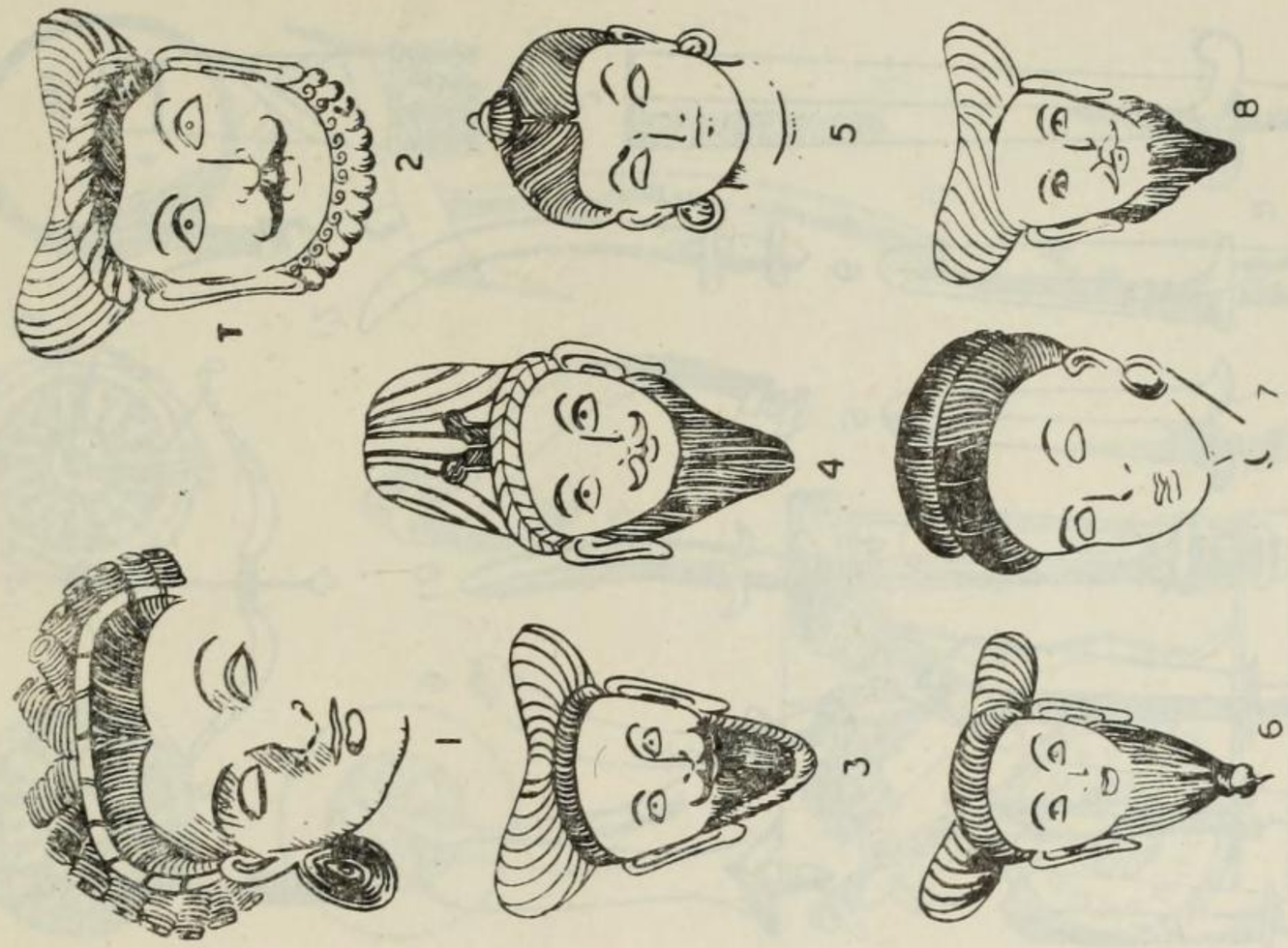
XIII. Necklaces and Girdles



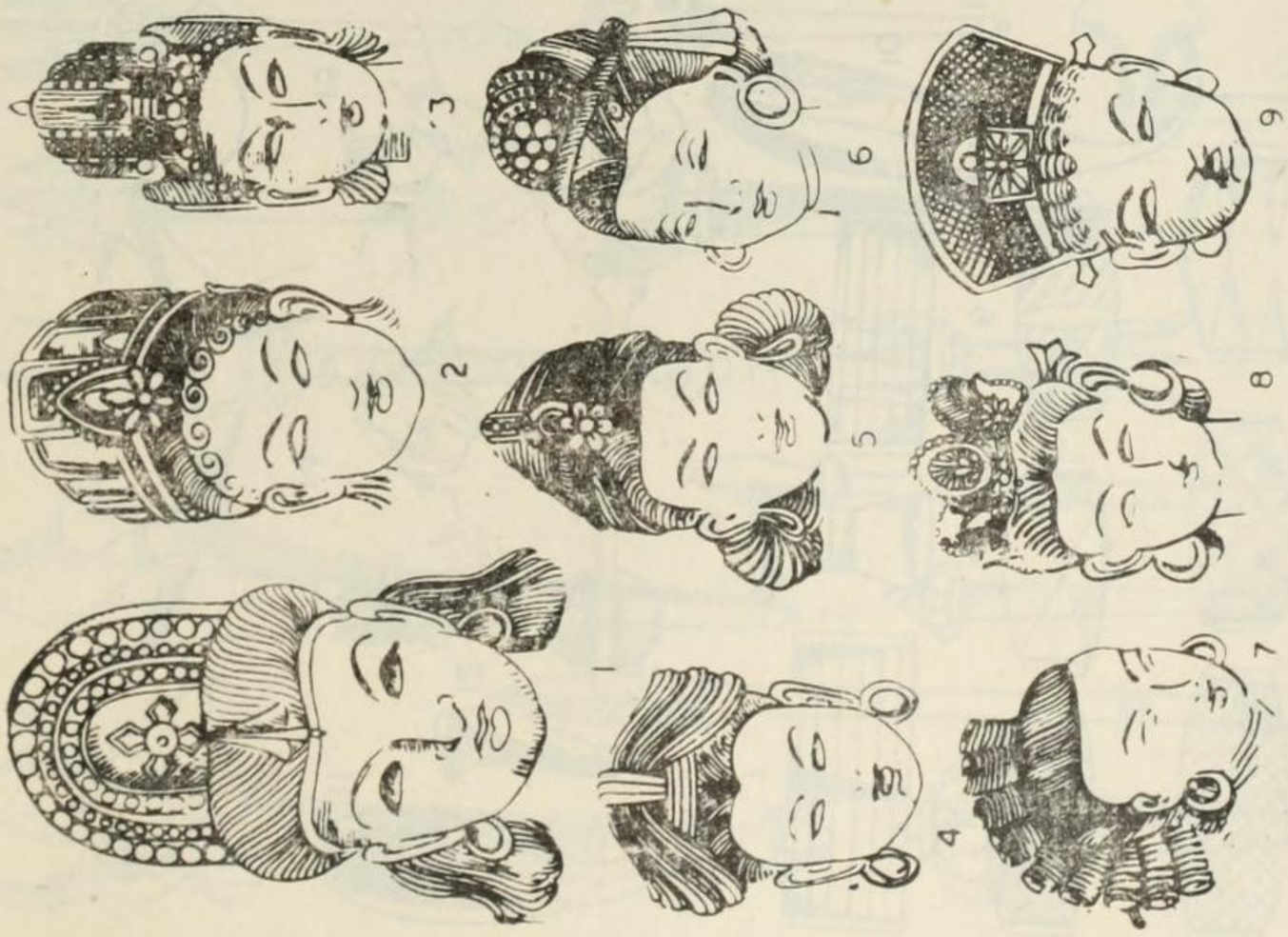
XVI. Coiffures of Females and Males



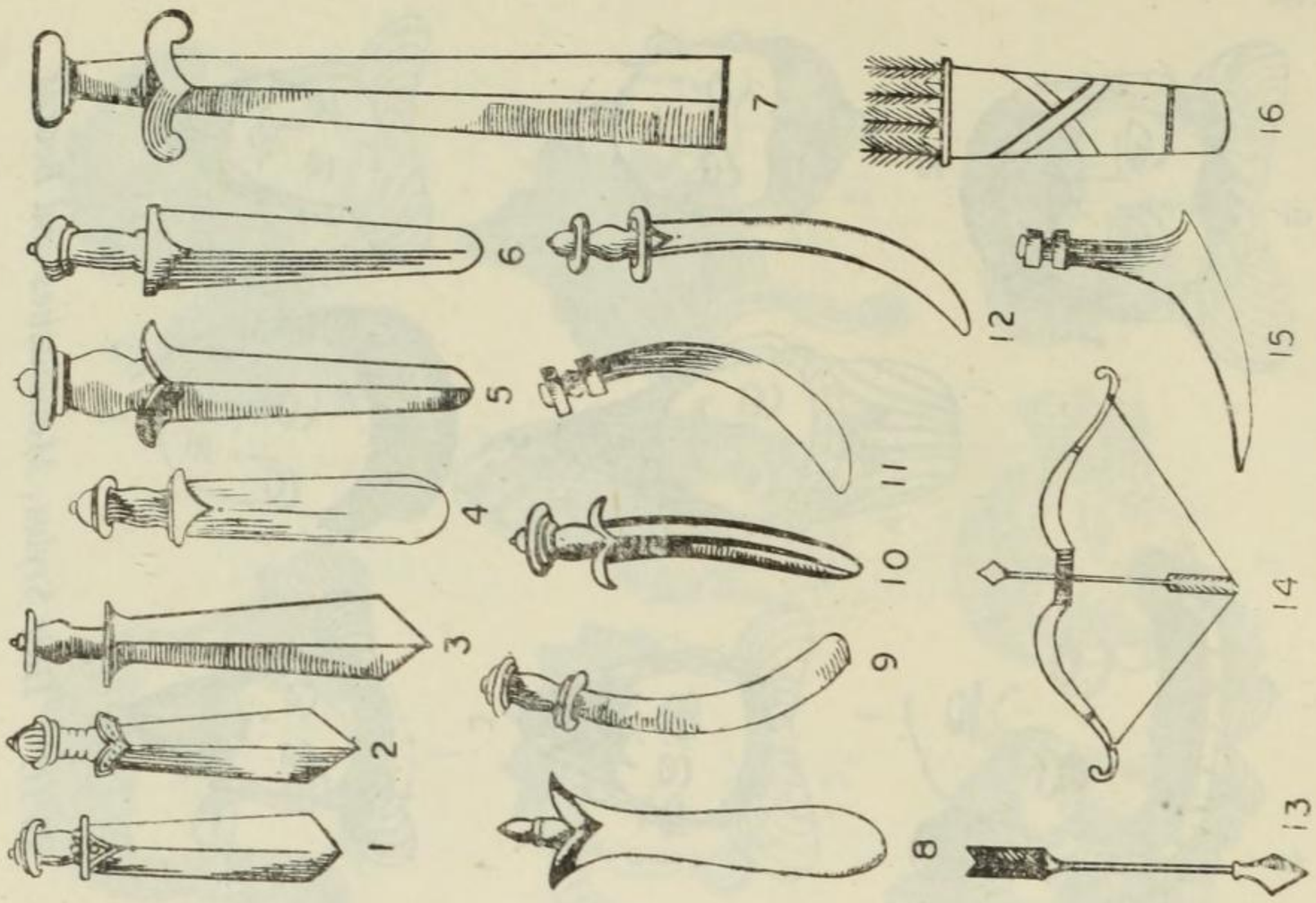
XV. Coiffure and Head Ornaments



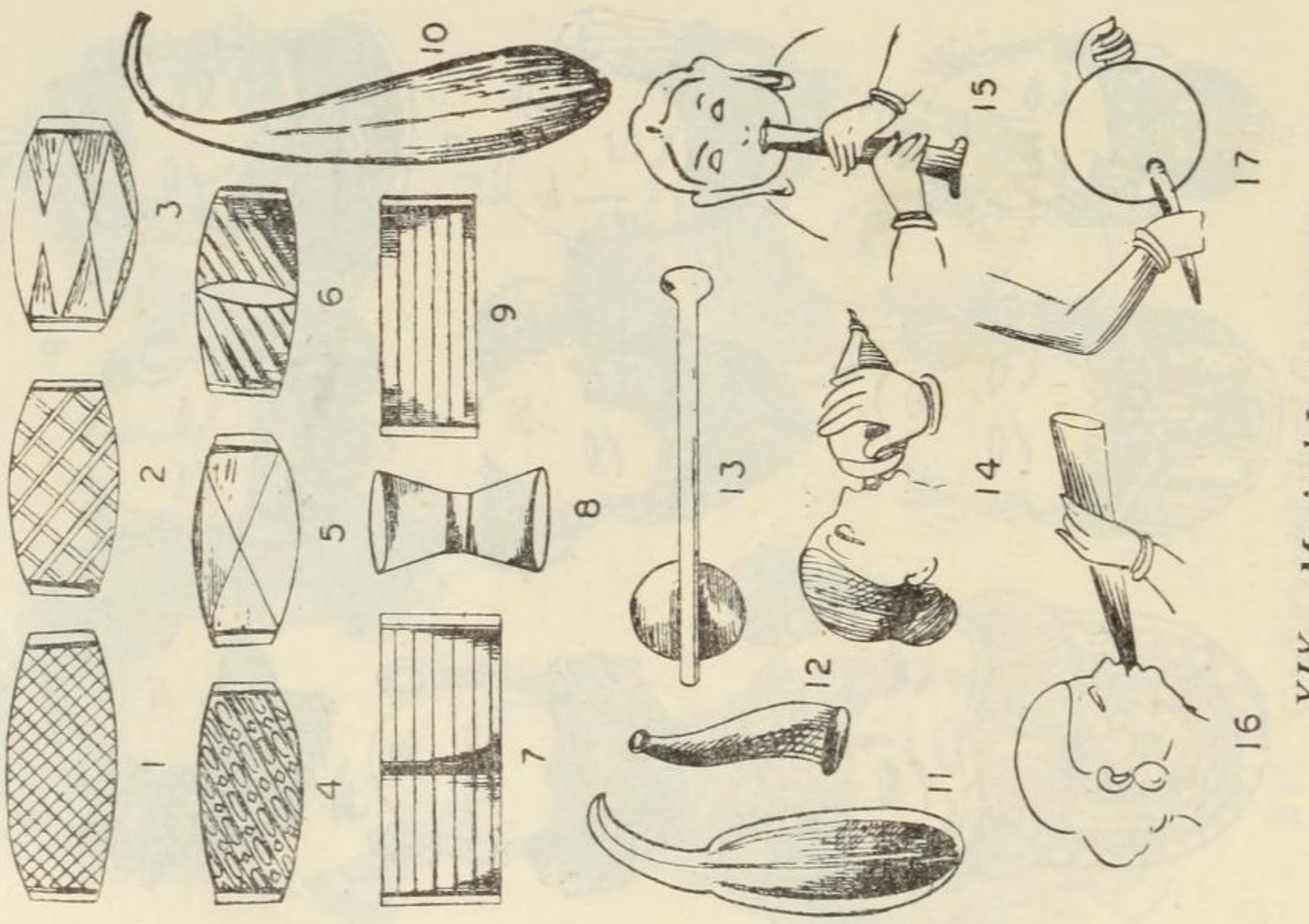
XVIII. Hair Styles, Moustaches and Beards



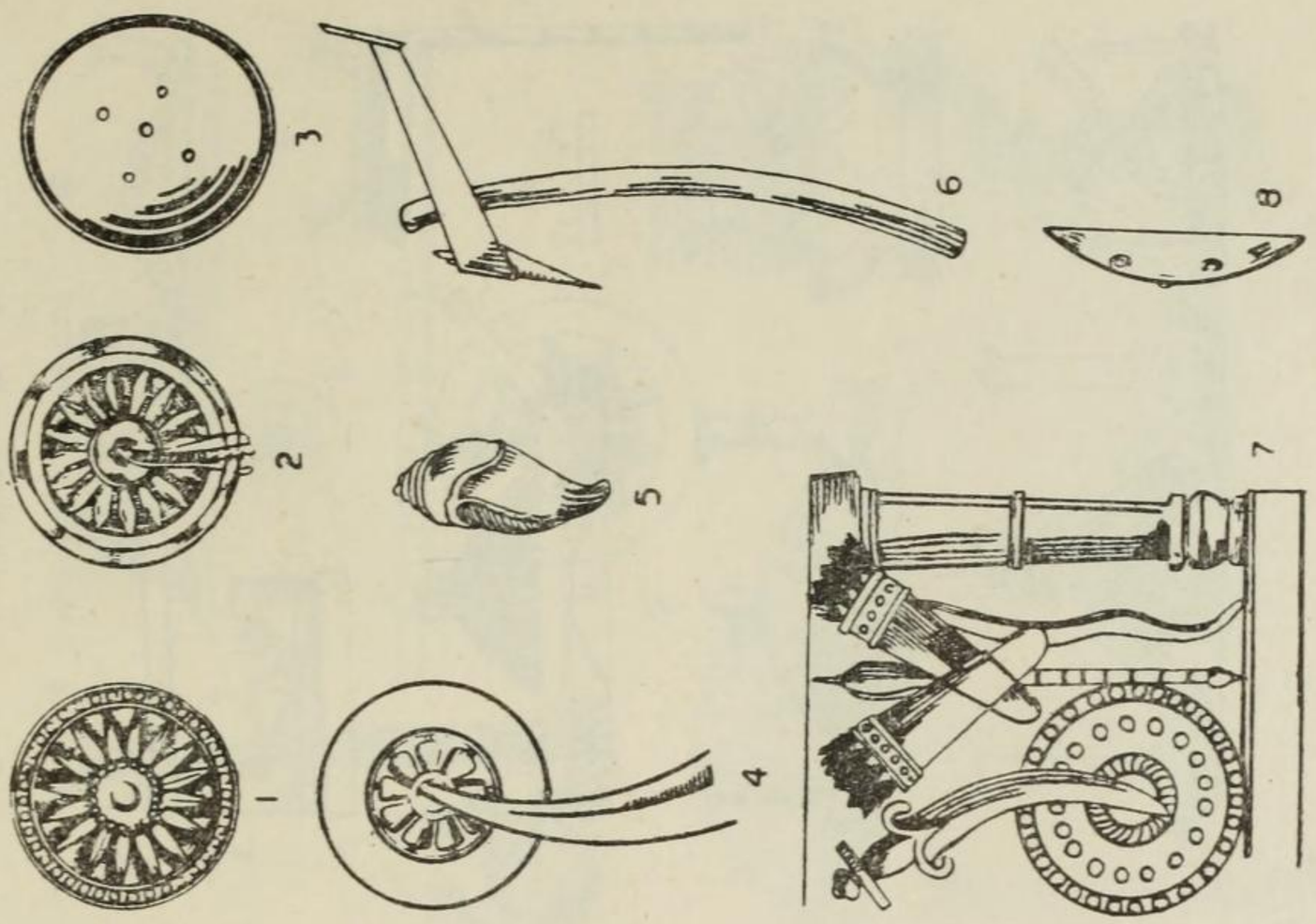
XVII. Miscellaneous Head-dress



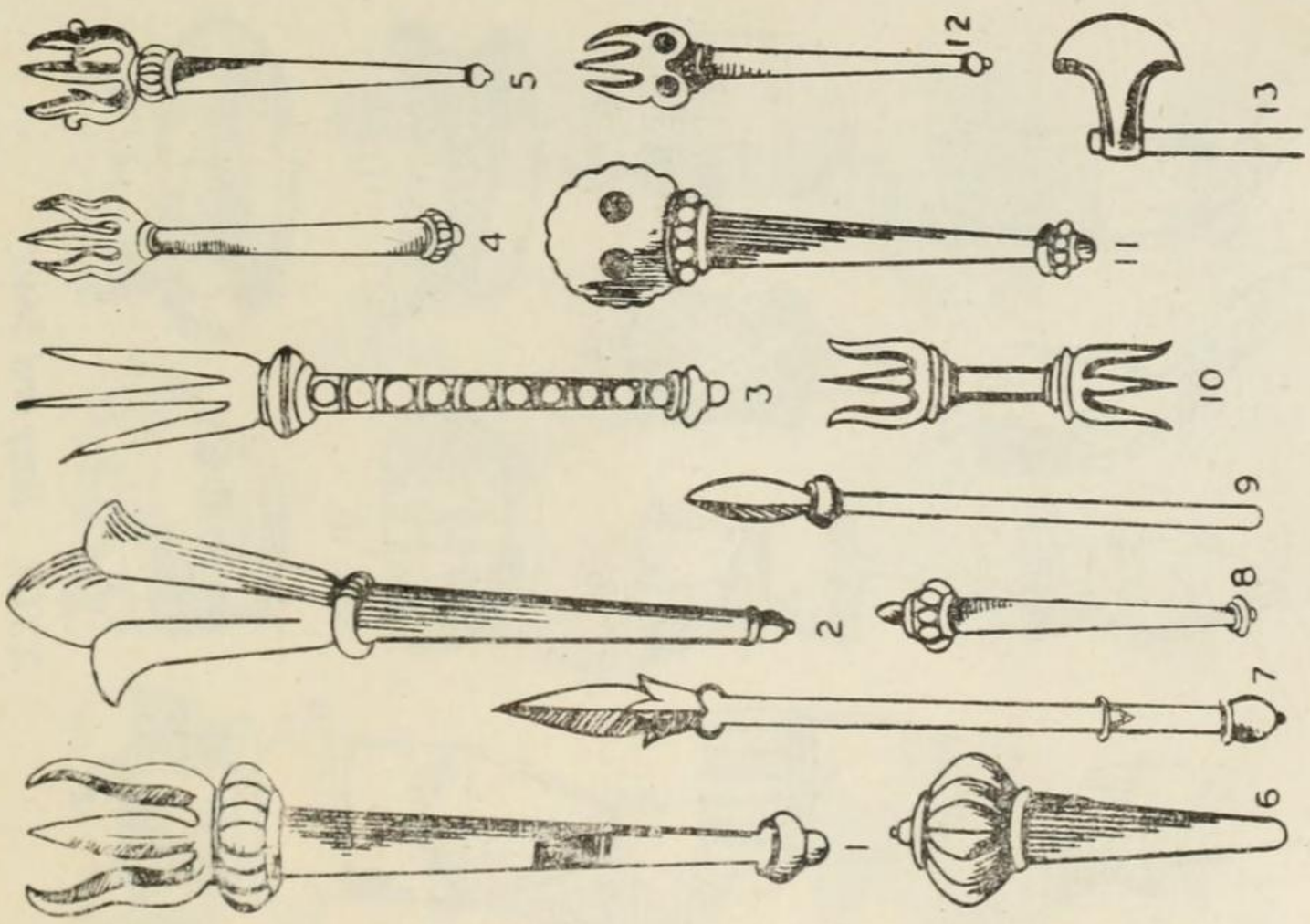
XX. Swords, Bow and Arrow



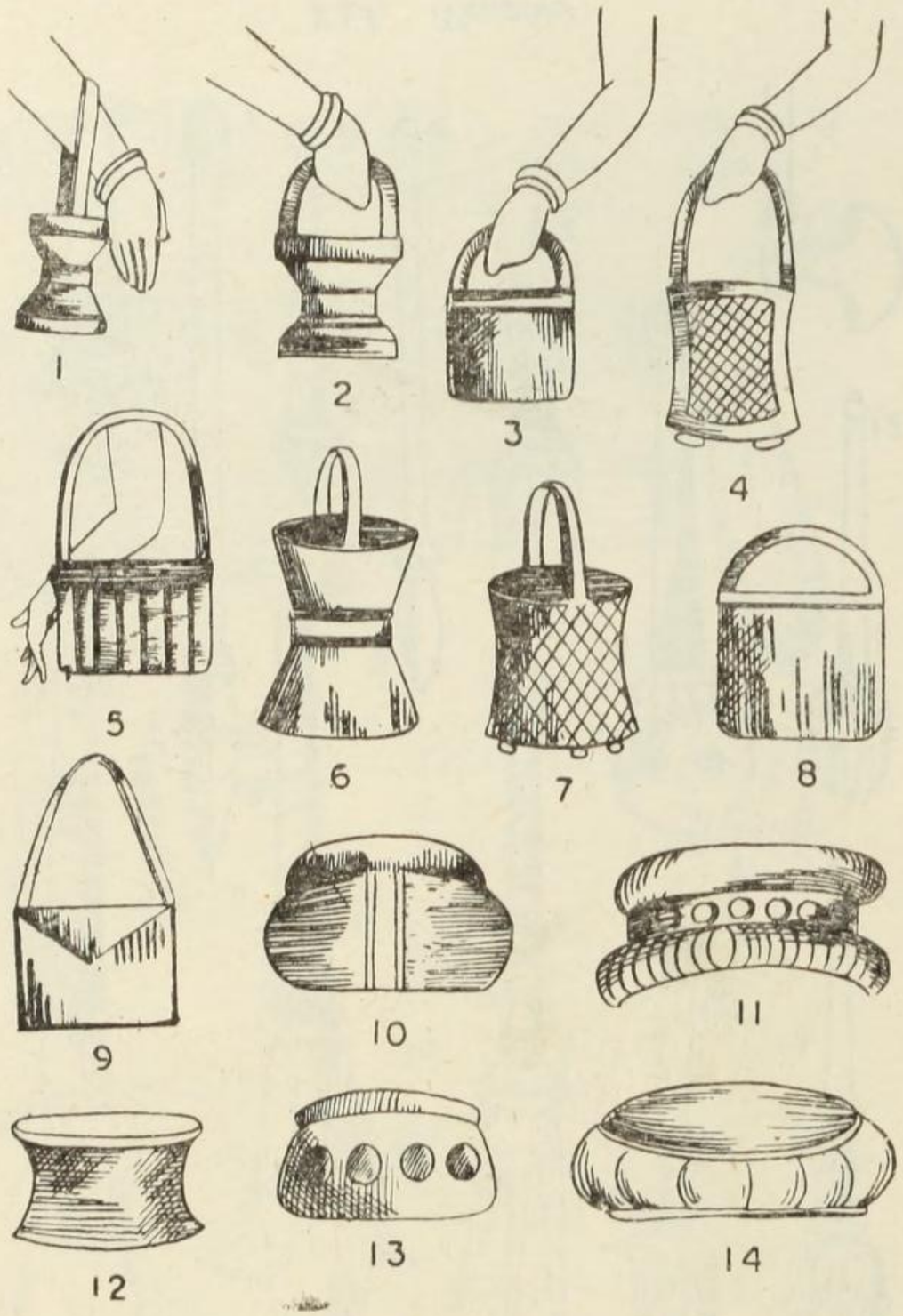
XIX. Musical Instruments



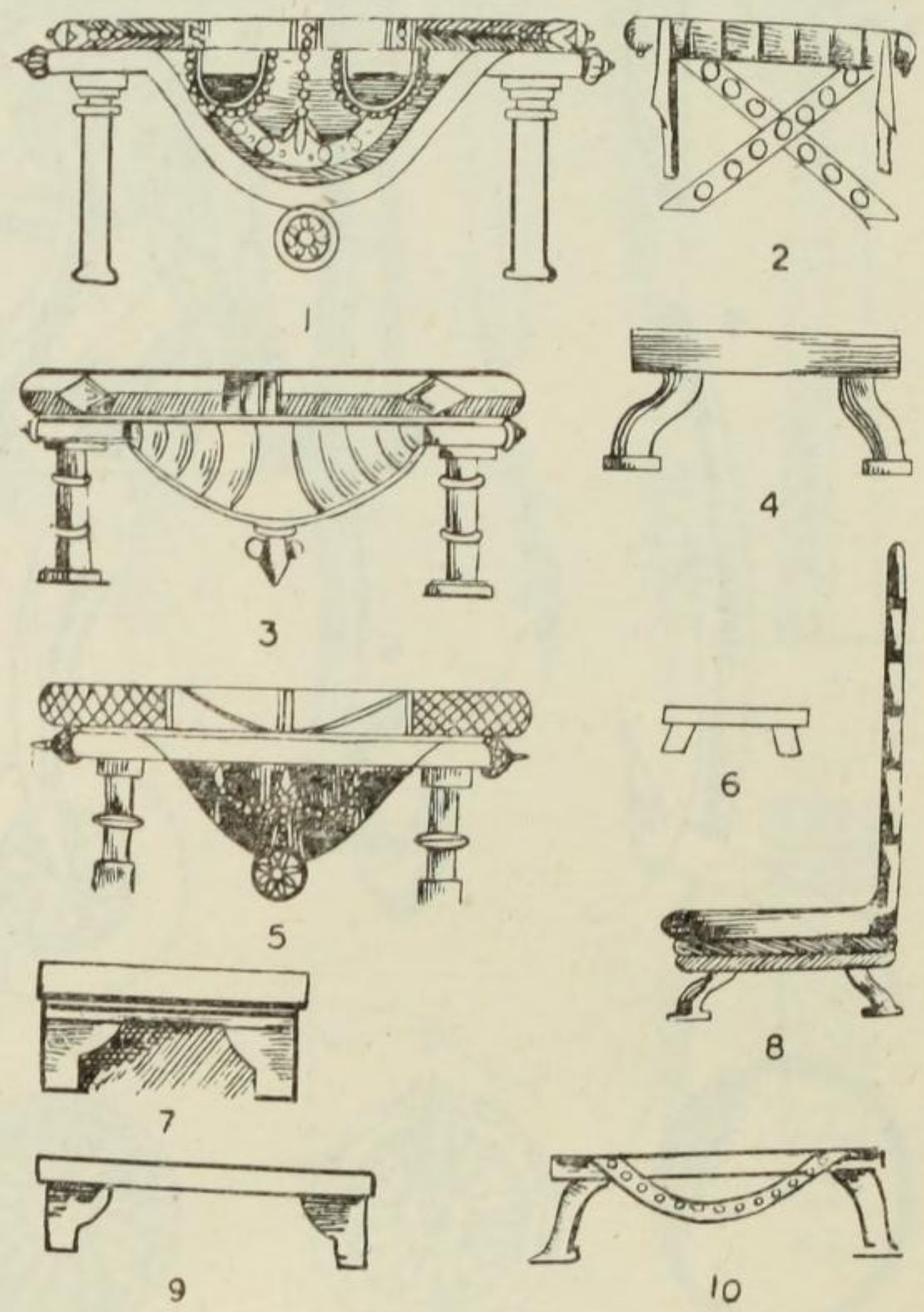
XXII. Discs, Shields, Conch and Plough



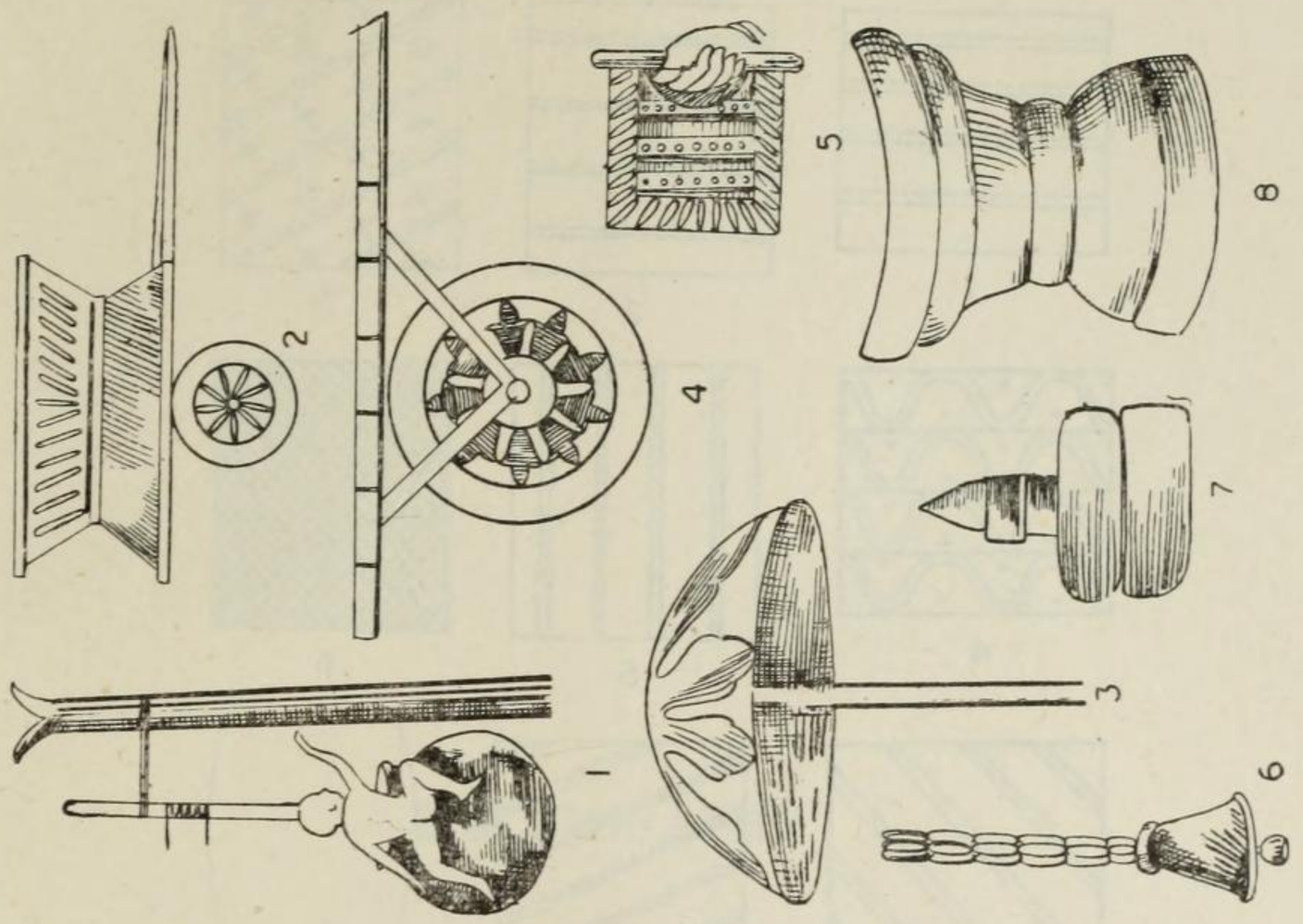
XXI. Weapons



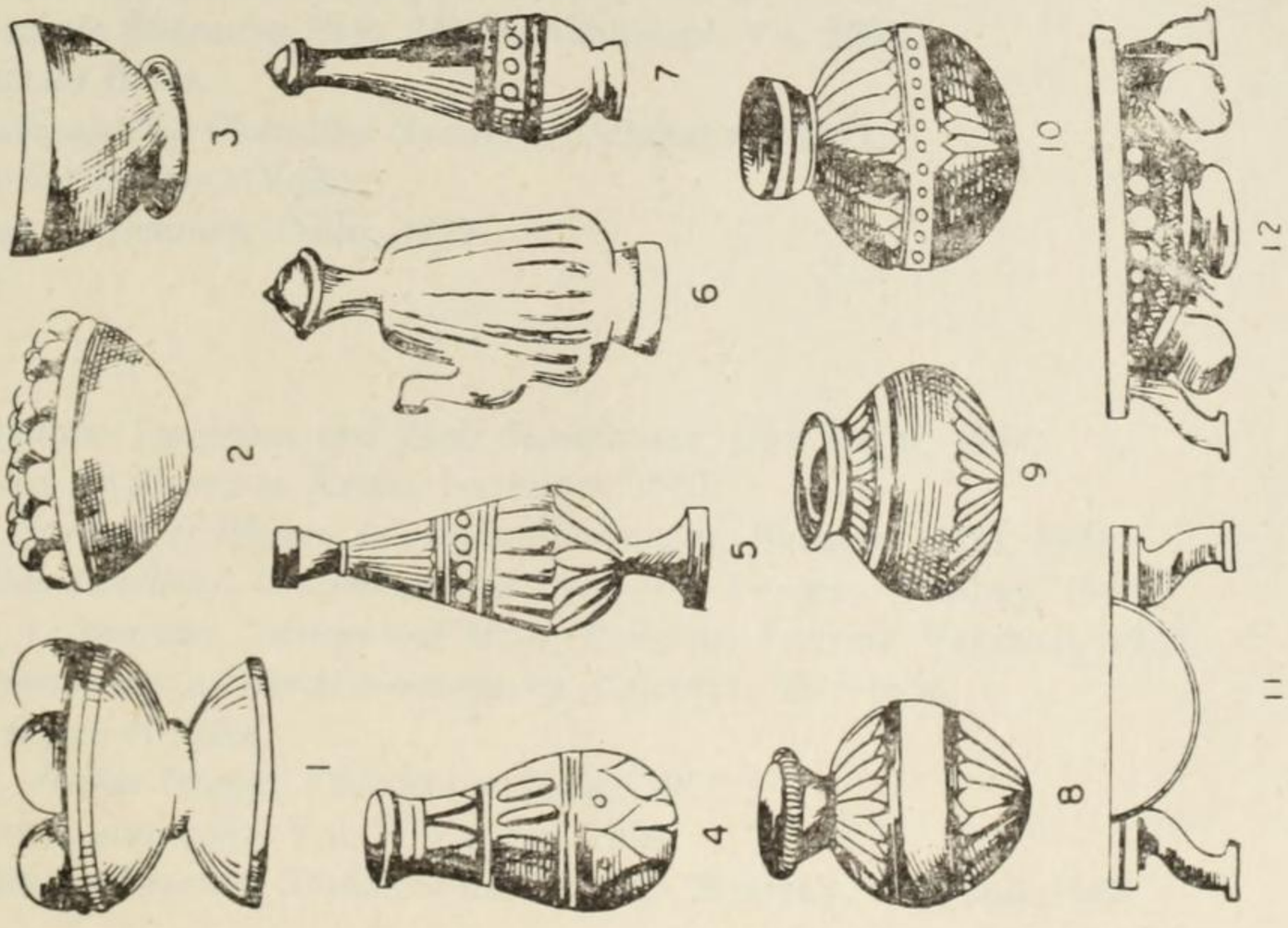
XXIII. Bags and Seats



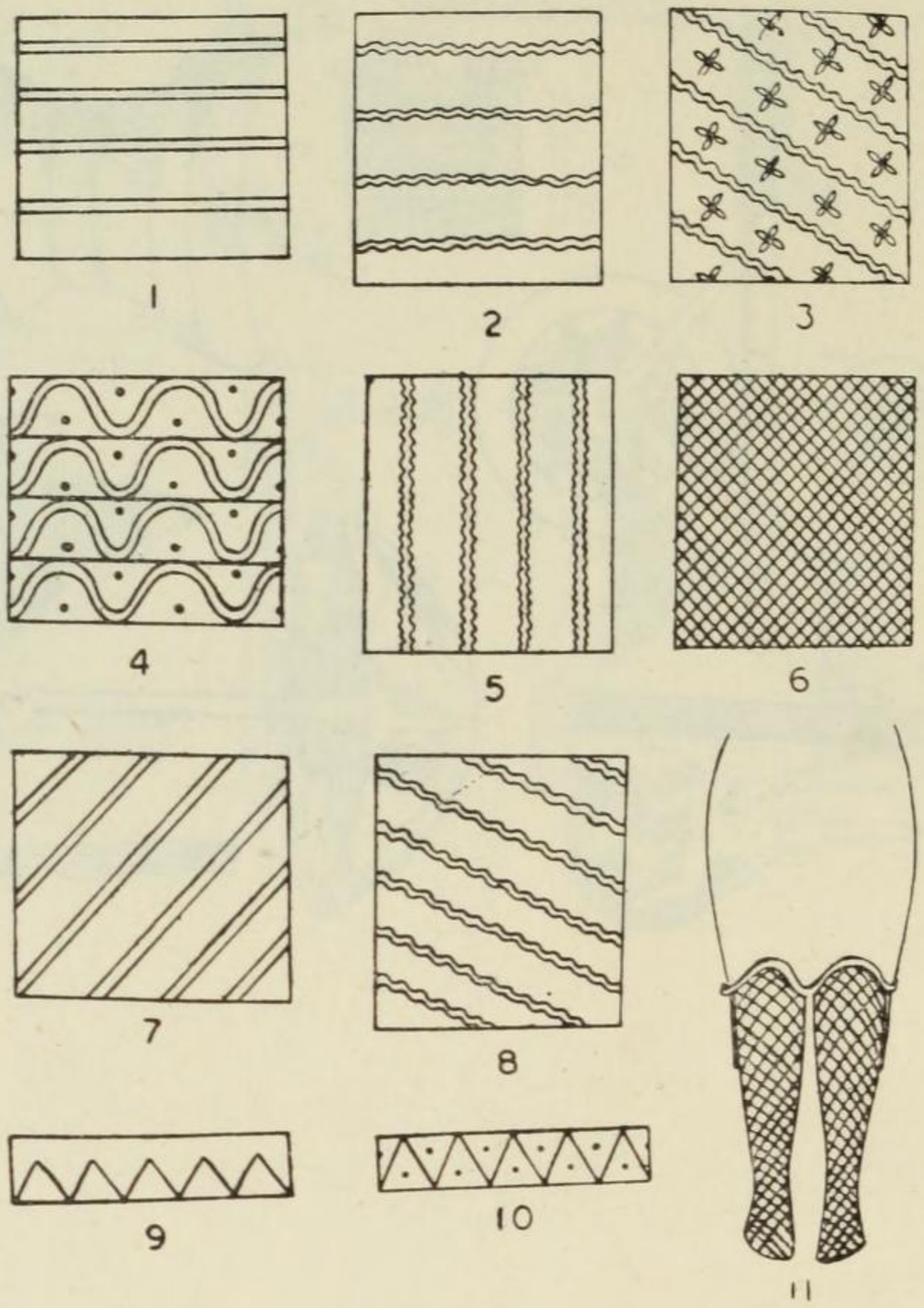
XXIV. Furniture



XXVI. Miscellaneous Articles



XXV. Utensils and Furniture



XXVII. Textile Designs

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Rajasthan ke Prachin Dev Bhawan, Udaipur, Rajasthan
Shodha Patrika, Udaipur, Rajasthan

INDEX

Achyuptā 151
Agni 132-133
Ambikā 149
Amusements and Pastimes
  adult education 48-49
  animal-combat 41
  ball games 42-43
  dance 46-48
  keeping pets 43
  man-animal combat 42
  music
    percussion instruments 43-44
    pneumatic instruments 44-45
    resonatory instruments 45-46
    vibratory instruments 45
  professional education 49
  wrestling 42
Aśvini-Devatās 128

Brahmā 125-126

Chakreśvarī 148-149
Chandra 129-130
Coiffure
  female 33-36
  male 36-37
Cosmetics
  application of collyrium 38
  colouring of soles 38-39
  forehead decoration 37-38
  mirrors 39
  personal hygiene 39
  staining of lips 38
  toilet attendants 39

Dikpālas 130-140
Dress, female
  cholikā 20
  dupaṭṭā 20, 21
  kañchukā 20
  kañchukī 20
  lahaṅgā 21-22
  sārī 21-22
  stanāṁśuka 20
Dress, male
  dhotī 23
  headgears 22
  jāṅghiā 23
  kaupīna 23
  uttarīya 22

Economic Life
  agriculture 51
  architects 60
  bead-making 58
  cane and reed workers 59
  carpenters 58-59
  cattle-rearing 52-53
  charioteers 62
  dancers 61

domestic servants 61
drivers 62
government servants 61
hunting 53
labourers 61
leather workers 61
masons 60
means of exchange 62
means of transport 62
metal workers 53-57
musicians 61
potters 53 57
rope-makers 60
sculptors 60
stone-carvers 60
weavers 60-61
wood-carvers 58

Ganapatya cult
Gaṇeśa, seated images 112-114
standing images 112
Nṛtya-Gaṇapati 114
other depictions of Gaṇeśa 115
Śakti-Gaṇapati 114-115
Gāndhārī 151
Gaṅgā 141
Gaurī 150-151

Harihara Temple No. I 3-4
Harihara Temple No. II 4
Harihara Temple No. III 8

Indra 131-132
Īśāna 139-140

Jaina iconography
Jina Kalyāṇaka 148
Jīvantaswāmī 148
Mahāvīra 146
mothers of Tīrthaṅkaras 146-147
Nemināth a 147-148
Pārśvanātha 146
Vidyādevīs 149-152
Yakṣas 148
Yakṣiṇīs 148-149
Jaina Temple 4-5

Kālī 150
Kārttikeya 126-127
Kubera 138-139

Mahākālī 150
Mahāmānsī 152

Navagrahas 128-129
Nirriti 135-136
Nirvāṇī 149

Ornaments
ankle 31
arm 28-30
ear 27
head 26-27
neck 27-28
waist 30-31
Osian
history 1
rulers 2
sculptures of Osian temples 11
shrines 10
temples 2-11

Piplā Devī Temple 7-8
Prajñāpati 149
Puruṣadattā 150

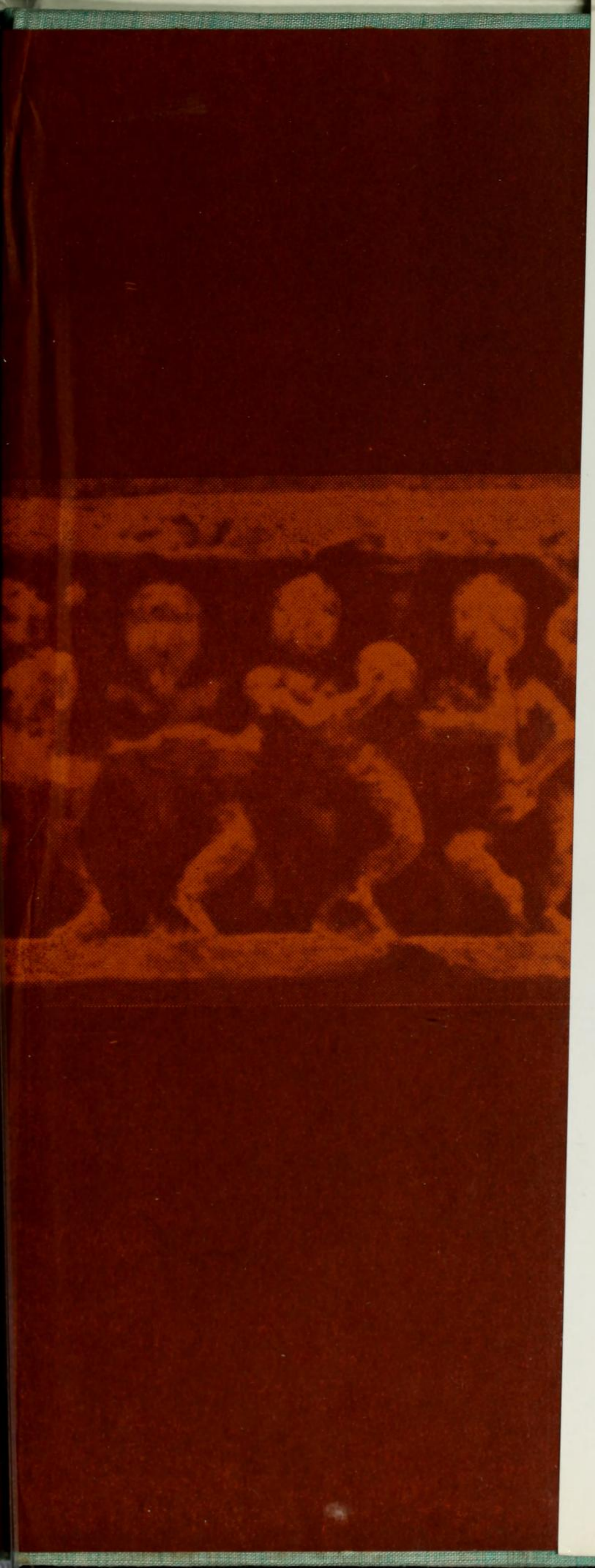
Religious life 65-66
method of worship 66
Rohiṇī 149
Ruined Śiva Temple 10-11

Sachiyā Mātā Temple 5-6
Śāktism
Chāmuṇḍā 104-105, 108
Durgā-Pārvatī 101
Kṣemaṅkarī 106
Lakṣmī 100
Mahiṣāsuramardinī 102-104
Pārvatī 102
Sarasvatī 100-101
Siṁhavāhinī-Durgā 101-102
Śītalā 106
Saptamātrikās
Brahmāṇī 106-107
Chāmuṇḍā 104-105, 108
Indrāṇī 107, 109
Kaumārī 108
Māheśvarī 108
Vaiṣṇavī 107
Vārāhī 108-109
Sarasvatī 149
Satya-Nārāyaṇa Temple 10
Saura cult
Dhātrī-Sūrya 119
Revanta 119-120
Sūrya, seated images 118-119
standing images 117-118
Shrines 10
Śiva
anthropomorphic images
Anugraha-mūrtis 93
Nṛtya-mūrtis 94-95
Raudra or Saṁhāra-mūrtis 93-94
miscellaneous images
āsana 97
Nandī 97
sthānaka 97
other images
Āliṅgana-mūrti 96

Kalyāṇasundara-mūrti 95-96
Umā-Maheśvara mūrti 96-97
symbolic form
Mukha-liṅga 92
Śiva Temple 9
Social Life
Brahmacharyāśrama 13
food and drink 16-17
Gṛhasthāśrama 13-14
position of women 15-16
Sanyāsāśrama 14-15
standard of living 16
Vānaprasthāśrama 14-15
Sūrya Temple 7
Syncretic images
Arddhanārīśvara 122-123
Harihara 121-122
Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha 123-124

Vairoṭī 151
Vajra-Śriṁkhalā 149-150
Vajraṁkuśā 150
Varuṇa 136-137
Vāyu 137-138
Vidyādevīs 149-152
Viṣṇu
āsana images
Garuḍāsana-mūrtīs 70-71
Lalitāsana-mūrtīs 70
Yogāsana-mūrtīs 69-70
incarnations of
Balarāmāvatāra 83-85
Buddhāvatāra 85
Kṛṣṇāvatāra 78-83
Kūrmāvatāra 73
Nṛsiṁhāvatāra 75-76
Vāmanāvatāra 76-78
Varāhāvatāra 74-75
other depictions
Āyudha-Purūṣas 87
Chakra-Purūṣas 88
Chaturviṁśati-mūrtīs 72-73
Dvārapālas 88
Garuḍa 87
Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa 86-87
Padma-Purūṣas 88
Śaṅkha-Purūṣas 87
Śayana-mūrtīs 71-72
sthānaka images 68-69
Viṣṇu Temple No. I 8-9
Viṣṇu Temple No. II 9
Viṣṇu Temple No. III 9-10

Yama 134-135
Yamunā 141



The Author

Asha Kalia was born in Multan, India, which is now in Pakistan. She received her education in the historic city of Lucknow. From the University of Lucknow, she received her M.A. and Ph.D. in Ancient Indian History. For her Ph.D. she explored the ancient glory of historic Rajasthan, in particular, the ruined but magnificent Hindu and Jaina temples of Osian. As a research scholar from the University of Lucknow, she was the first archaeologist to conduct a most comprehensive study of the region. In her investigation she was ably guided by Professor R.K. Dikshit. Her Ph.D. dissertation was reviewed by scholars of the Oxford University and eminent Indian art historians such as Dr Mulk Raj Anand. Her work was considered as a major contribution to the understanding of the socio-economic aspects of the 8th-12th century A.D. India and her work was recommended for a gold medal.

Following her Ph.D., she joined the K.D. Girls College and taught Ancient Indian History and Archaeology until her marriage in 1976. After her marriage, she moved to Chicago, U.S.A. At Chicago she is listed as archaeological consultant by a major international engineering and consulting company. In 1977 as a field archaeologist she conducted a field study in the Benguet province of the Philippines. The investigation was about the ancient regional practice of mummifying the dead and storing the mummies in highly decorated wooden boxes. The coffins were stored in natural and man-made caves.

To further her understanding and to broaden her horizon of 8th to 12th century A.D. Hinduism and Buddhism, she visited the ancient Hindu temples of Bali, the Buddhist temples of Borobudur, Indonesia, Thailand, and the ruined Buddhist temples of Pagan, Burma.

Asha is a member of the U.P. Historical Society, India, and the Association of the Field Archaeology of the U.S.A.

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